Sounding the Cape

Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa

Denis-Constant Martin

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AFRICAN MINDS

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Vincent Kolbe,
Chris McGregor and Winston Mankunku Ngozi

Contents

Prelude ix
Acknowledgements xiii
Timeline xvii

Part One: The Emergence of Creolised Identities

CHAPTER ONE
Music and Identity: A Theoretical Prologue *3*

CHAPTER TWO
Cape Town's Musics: A Legacy of Creolisation *53*

Part Two: The Dialectics of Separation and Interweaving

CHAPTER THREE
Separation and Interweaving in the 20th Century: Futile Separations *101*

Vincent Kolbe's Childhood Memories *187*

CHAPTER FOUR
Separation and Interweaving in the 20th Century: Fertile Intertwining *209*

Chris McGregor talks about the Blue Notes, Jazz, and South African Society *259*

"Soweto Sun", an Interview with Rashid Vally by Denis-Constant Martin *263*

CHAPTER FIVE
Two Decades of Freedom 267

CHAPTER SIX

The Musicians' Discourse: Cape Town as a Musical *Potjiekos* 333

Conclusion

Recognising Creolisation? *357*

References 385
Illustrations 411
Musicians Interviewed in 2007 and 2009 412
Index 413

Prelude

This book is the outcome of a project that began to take shape through conversations with Professor Simon Bekker (Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of Stellenbosch), in the course of which he suggested that I submit a research proposal to the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Study (STIAS). I then discussed the idea with Professor Bernard Lategan, the then director of STIAS. We agreed that the project would try and combine my interests in the analysis of group identities and in the sociology of music. I wrote a proposal entitled "Urban Music and Identities: A Case Study of Cape Town", which was approved by the STIAS Research Committee, and I was invited to come and spend ten weeks at STIAS.

During my stay in Stellenbosch, from 17 September to 1 December 2007, I conducted a series of semi-directive interviews on the relationship musicians entertained with Cape Town, the city and its surroundings; I also collected as much printed information and as many recordings as possible. Musicians included in the sample represented most of the musical genres that were actually performed in Cape Town in 2007. When asked what, in their opinion, made Cape Town's musics special, nearly all the musicians interviewed agreed on two characteristics: a history of mixture, and the *ghoema* beat. In order to be analysed, the findings of the musicians' survey had to be set against a double background: first a theoretical background which would treat mixture as an effect of creolisation dynamics that developed at the Cape after the arrival of the first European settlers in 1652, and which would consider creole musics (including genres based on the *ghoema* beat) invented in South Africa within a general framework assessing the role of music in identity configurations; then, a historical background which would illustrate the development of Cape Town's musics and ascertain their quality as creole (creolised and creolising) musics, highlighting connections and interactions between people who were ascribed separate identities. Finally, after reading several reports published by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), I realised that it was necessary to engage with the apparent contradiction between what the history of music and the perceptions of musicians reveal about exchanges and blending that occurred at all times in the history of the Cape, and the findings of successive IJR Barometer surveys that bring to the forefront the relative isolation in which South Africans previously classified in different groups still live.

The book consequently begins with two chapters respectively dealing with the role and place of music in identity configurations, and with theories of creolisation and their relevance to South Africa. The following three chapters offer an outline of the history of Cape Town's music. They do not claim to provide a comprehensive history, but endeavour to illustrate as precisely as possible the works of creolisation in music. I have attempted to describe musical genres and styles in the most neutral manner – in line with the imperative of axiological neutrality advocated by Max Weber (Weber 1958) – and the descriptions are not meant to carry any value judgement on the music itself but to capture its social signification. The three historical chapters focus on Cape Town but, when necessary, also delve into the history of music in the rest of South Africa. Cape Town was the first outpost of creolisation in South Africa. Cape Town's musics played a decisive role in shaping popular music that spread throughout the whole country in the 20th century. Consequently, it is often difficult to disentangle what is specifically of Cape Town and what is more generally South African. At any rate, such disentanglement should only be attempted for the sake of conducting a case study of Cape Town, and without losing sight of the permanent mutual influences that interlocked Capetonian and South African musics. Cape Town appears, in this perspective, not as an exceptional case in South Africa, but rather as a prototype. The history of colonial and post-colonial South Africa started at the Cape. What unfolded there, especially in terms of musical invention, impacted deeply on the rest of South Africa. The role and place of music in the development of Cape Town's society is just one example of trends that affected the whole country.

Following the three historical chapters, I carry out an analysis of the interviews conducted with Capetonian musicians in 2007, before the conclusion presents a few suggestions regarding the place music should be granted in education and cultural policies given the divisions that still characterise South Africa in the 21st century.

When writing this book, I have been confronted with terminological and typographical questions – as have most authors dealing with South Africa. To designate groups that were defined in the Population Registration Act, 1950, I have adopted what has become a most common code in South Africa and used the labels: Africans, coloureds, Indians, and whites (I have retained initial capitals for coloureds and whites in quotations where they were originally used); blacks encompass all the victims of apartheid (Africans, coloureds and Indians). Having recourse to these labels does not amount in any way to granting them an intrinsic value. But the history of South Africa – and the effects it continues to have upon the organisation of today's South African society and on the representations South

Africans entertain about each other – makes it necessary to use these labels to try and assess both their irrelevance in terms of what they suggest about the distinction and separation of the people they designated, and their powerful effects on the structures of social life. Similarly, it is impossible in such a study not to use the word "race" and a number of the words in the composition of which it enters. I have chosen to put systematically "race" between inverted comas to underline that "race" is devoid of any biological basis and should only be considered as a social construct. The spelling of some words sometimes varies according to sources – one can find, for instance Guguletu and Gugulethu, *ghoema* and *goema* – and I have tried to use only one spelling in the text, but have respected spellings used by other authors I quote.

Political correctness has also affected the way it is now deemed decent to speak of certain cultural practices. With respect to the New Year festivals, "Coon" has become almost taboo, and "Minstrel" is now contested. In my opinion, this illustrates an incapacity to understand that, in international languages such as English, the meaning of words change in the course of their travels, and that, for instance, when Cape Town revellers proudly claim to be Coons, they do not feel they are debasing themselves in any way. However, to try and avoid hurting the sensibility of readers who object to the use of certain terms, I have attempted to find in the actors' vocabulary the most neutral appellations, which very often come from Afrikaans. "Coon Carnival" is referred to as Kaapse Klopse Karnaval (Carnival of Cape Town's Clubs); "Coon troupes" as Klopse (Clubs); "Malay Choirs" as *Sangkore* (Singing Choirs) or *Nagtroepe* (Night Troupes), according to the context of their performance.

Finally, the reader will find that there is in this book almost nothing on what is regarded as Indian music. Indians constitute a tiny minority of Cape Town's population: 1,8 per cent in 2007 (Small 2008). Music that is considered as specifically emanating from the communities that developed after the arrival of Indian indentured labourers and "passengers" during the second half of the 19th century (Vally 2001) seems to have had no noticeable influence on other musics created in Cape Town. At least, I did not encounter in my investigations traces of such an influence, and did not find any evidence of it in the extant literature[1]. Slaves deported from India contributed to the first creole musical forms that appeared in Cape Town, but their contribution has become undiscernable from what slaves of other origins brought to the mix. A few individuals classified as Indian did play a role in the history of music in Cape Town, as musicians playing genres that were not deemed "Indian" and as club owners. Indian music certainly influenced the repertoires of modern *qasidah* bands, but mainly through Bollywood films,

possibly relayed by South African Indian artists. There have been in recent years sessions of Indian classical music at the UCT College of Music and the District Six Museum. And in 2003 jazz musicians from Cape Town met three Indian classical musicians, but the three of them hailed from India[2]. The near absence of Indian South African music in this volume does not mean any disinterest or contempt for it, but results from the fact that it does not feature strikingly in the history of Cape Town musics, and has not yet been the object of detailed study. I also wish to thank the French Society for Ethnomusicology, which granted financial support to the publication of this book.

Notes

1. On Indian music in South Africa, see: Jackson 1988, 1989, 1991; Pillay 1994; the bibliographies and discographies given in these articles. On recent developments, see: "Bollywood in Cape Town", http://www.sutramagazine.net/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=49:bollywood-in-cape-town&Itemid=186 (accessed 19/07/2011) and, about South African Chutney music: Servan-Schreiber 2010: 206-218.
2. "Indian Classical Musicians And South African Jazz Musicians Fuse In Cape Town", http://www.mio.co.za/article/indian-classical-musicians-and-south-african-jazz-musicians-fuse-in-cape-town-2003-07-28 (accessed 19/07/2011). This initiative appeared as a continuation of the Indo-Jazz fusions initiated in Durban by pianist Darius Brubeck with, among others, South African bansuri flute player, Deepak Ram.

Acknowledgements

The project which resulted in the present book would probably never have been envisioned if Professor Simon Bekker had not invited me to submit a research proposal to the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies (STIAS). It would not have been realised without the support of STIAS. I wish to express my gratitude to Simon Bekker, Bernard Lategan, who was in 2007 the Director of STIAS and made every effort to make my work in Stellenbosch easy and fruitful, and Ms Maria Mouton, Personal Assistant to the STIAS Director, who superbly organised my working and living environment in Stellenbosch. Research undertaken as part of this project also received funding from the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS, Research Department, Johannesburg), the Centre for International Research and Study (CERI, Sciences Po Paris), to which I was attached when this project was started, and the African Studies Centre of Sciences Po Bordeaux (today Centre Les Afriques dans le Monde, LAM), to which I was transferred in 2008. I therefore wish to thank Sophie Didier (IFAS), Christophe Jaffrelot and Christian Lequesne (CERI), and René Otayek (LAM), directors of these institutions, for their support.

The STIAS project came as a continuation of research I have conducted in and on Cape Town since the early 1990s, which resulted in, among other publications, the book *Coon Carnival, New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present* (Martin 1999). It means that I must also thank, without being able to mention their names again here, all who are acknowledged at the beginning of the aforementioned volume. But I would like to stress here that without initial inspiration provided by Ruth First, Chris McGregor and Sam Nolotshungu, I would never have considered doing research on South Africa.

This particular research would not have been possible without the encouragement and assistance of many friends and colleagues in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. First and foremost, Anwar Gambeno, musical director of the Tulips Malay Choir, and Melvyn Matthews, Executive Director of the Kaapse Klopse Karnaval Association, provided information, advice and contacts which made my investigations much easier; I owe them much more than I am able to express in words. The late Vincent Kolbe was, in spite of his poor health, always available to provide facts, stories and analyses related to the history of Cape Town and of its musics, which nobody else so comprehensively embraced. Vincent Kolbe

was endowed with a unique warmth, spiced with humour; his life experience, and his readiness to share it with others, make his loss irreparable. I have tried to do him justice by inserting between Parts One and Two the transcript of a long interview I videotaped at his home in 2007. Chris Ferndale, who is now Manager of Public Participation at the Western Cape Parliament, proved a most reliable friend, always generous in encouragement and assistance. When some rest was needed, Catherine Lauga-du Plessis and the late Phil du Plessis offered, as they have done for so many years, a welcoming place to eat and chat in a house that overflowed with music.

I benefited from the support of many colleagues at the three universities of the Cape region. Sylvia Bruinders, Zimitri Erasmus, Anri Herbst, Shamil Jeppie, Michael Nixon, Paul Sedres, Crain Soudien and Chris van der Merwe at the University of Cape Town; Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz at the University of the Western Cape; and Scarlet Cornelissen, Albert Grundlingh, Stephanus Muller, Steven Robins, Hans Roosenschoon and Kees van der Waal at the University of Stellenbosch. Be they all assured of my gratitude, as well as Cheryl Hendricks, who was then a political analyst at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town; Elaine Salo, who was then a Senior Lecturer at the African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town; and Colin Miller, Project Manager at the Swiss Arts Council's Pro Helvetia in South Africa, who is an inexhaustible source of knowledge on the history of jazz in South Africa and Cape Town.

The conversations we had and the suggestions they made contributed significantly to enriching my final project, as did my interactions with other South African colleagues and friends: Rehana Vally, then at the University of Pretoria; David B. Coplan and Christine Lucia, at the University of the Witwatersrand; Emmanuelle Gille, then Director of the Cultural Workshop and Cultural Initiative Fund (Pretoria); and Tony McGregor, who with the greatest warmth and liberality dispensed his intimate knowledge of South African jazz, which Maxine McGregor complemented with her souvenirs of the Blue Notes and the Brotherhood of Breath's tribulations.

Obviously, this book would never had been written if musicians had not accepted to be interviewed and to share with me their experiences and visions of Cape Town. I am therefore deeply thankful to: Glen Arendse and Garth Erasmus; Billy Baatjies; Wayne Bosch; Bertie Coetzee; Louwina and Johan de Villiers, Laura, Serena, Vuyiswa and Vuyo of the Libertas Choir; Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander; Ikey Gamba; Anwar Gambeno and the young members of the Tulips Malay Choir; Emile Jansen (a.k.a. Emile YX?); Samuel J. Jonker (†); Reza Khota; David Kramer; Camillo Lombard and the students of Xulon Music Tech; André Manuel; Pamela

Mtati; "Steve" Mvuzo Ndengezi and the members of the Hlanganani *Marimba* Group; Duke Ngcukana (†); Glenn Robertson; Phumi Tsewu; Titi Tsira; Alex Van Heerden (†); Timon Wapenaar; and George Werner. Several of them have passed away since I interviewed them. This volume is also meant to pay tribute to their contribution to keeping music alive in Cape Town. The round tables on South African and Cape Town musics I organised as part of my fellowship at STIAS proved to be a rich source of additional information and reflection, and participants must be thanked again for their contribution to the debates. The musicians who discussed Cape Town musics were: Anwar Gambeno, Phumi Tsewu, Timon Wapenaar, and George Werner; the academics who endeavoured to define the characteristics of South African music were: Sylvia Bruinders (University of Cape Town), David B. Coplan (University of the Witwatersrand), Anri Herbst (University of Cape Town), Christine Lucia (University of the Witwatersrand), Ncebakazi Mnukwana (University of Cape Town), Stephanus Muller (University of Stellenbosch) and Michael Nixon (University of Cape Town).

The few, but incredibly enriching, meetings I had with the late Édouard Glissant obviously shaped my understanding of creolisation, and of its capacity to generate new visions of the history of South Africa. Without the mentorship of Simha Arom (Emeritus Senior Research Fellow, National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris), I would never have been able to produce any academic text on music; for this research, he very kindly accepted to compare several rhythmic patterns, which allowed me to present new hypotheses on the origins of the *ghoema* beat. Carlos Sandroni (Professor of Ethnomusicology at the Federal University of Pernambuco, Brazil), found the mysterious Brazilian song Vincent Kolbe remembered from his youth; he proved, once again, an excellent friend. Donald R. Hill (Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York College at Oneonta) generously shared with me his early recordings of *Sangkore* and *boereorkes*.

The intellectual environment in which I worked at CERI (Paris), then at LAM (Bordeaux) always proved stimulating. Collective reflection on "identities" that developed within the Inter-Centre Research Workshop on "*Identités, Pouvoirs, Identifications*" (Identities, Powers and Identifications) associating several centres of the French National Foundation for Political Sciences, including CERI and LAM, provided the theoretical framework (Martin ed. 2010) within which I introduced the examination of the role of music in identity configurations. Discussions that took place within the International Research Group (GDRI) on "African Cities", piloted by Simon Bekker (University of Stellenbosch) and Laurent Fourchard (LAM, Bordeaux), shed new light on my perceptions of Cape Town. One of the mottoes of the French May 1968 movement was "Every teacher is taught [by his/

her students]" (*Tout enseignant est enseigné*). This proved particularly true with respect to my work on Cape Town. After she submitted her PhD dissertation, Christine Ludl worked at the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), University of the Witwatersrand, and made a significant contribution to the theory of social representations; Armelle Gaulier, in two Master's dissertations, analysed in detail *moppies* and *nederlandsliedjies* sung by *Sangkore* and *Klopse* choirs (Gaulier 2007, 2009, 2010); and Lorraine Roubertie assessed the role of Sheer Sound Records in the renewal of South African jazz after 1990 (Roubertie 2006) before she undertook for her PhD a comprehensive examination of how jazz is taught and transmitted in Cape Town (Roubertie 2012). Over the years, their research significantly enriched my own research.

Bob White (Professor of Anthropology, University of Montreal), Xabier Itçaina (Émile Durkheim Centre, Sciences Po Bordeaux), and Armelle Gaulier read a draft of the first chapter of this book; their comments suggested beneficial adjustments and revisions, for which I am most thankful.

François van Schalkwyk, of African Minds, who had been instrumental in making readable the manuscript of *Coon Carnival, New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present* (Martin 1999), showed a very stimulating enthusiasm as soon as I told him about the present book's project, and provided the kind of support authors dream of receiving from publishers. Felicity Gallagher and Simon Chislett corrected and polished my sometimes clumsy English and prepared the manuscript with a dexterous precision, for which I am immensely grateful.

Finally, my wife, Christine, survived the long gestation of this book and managed to cope with my difficulties and anxieties. I hope that she finds in this volume, and in the fact that I have been able to complete it, the expression of my appreciation and love.

Timeline

Music	Dates	Social and political history
San rock paintings, some describing scenes of dances involving dancers wearing ankle rattles	**Late Stone Age till early 20th century**	
2 December: Vasco da Gama entertained by a group of Khoikhoi musicians at a place near today's Mossel Bay	**1497**	
	1652	6 April: Jan van Riebeeck lands at the Cape to create a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company (VOC)
	1667	Shaykh Abdurahman Matahe Sha and Shaykh Mahmood of Sumatra are deported to the Cape, where they sow the first seeds of Islam in South Africa
Black musicians entertain guests at Cape Town Governor's residence	**1676**	
Slave musicians play in Cape Town taverns	**18th–19th century**	
First mention of a possible creole song: a certain Biron is condemned for singing "dubious ditties 'half in Malay, half in Dutch' in the streets of Cape Town"	**1707**	
First mention of the *ramkie*, a plucked lute particular to South Africa, possibly derived from lutes brought by slaves from Indonesia or Madagascar	**1730s**	
	1760s	Creole (locally born) slaves become the majority of the slave population in Cape Town
	1779–1879	Cape Frontier Wars, or "Xhosa Wars": series of battles for the land between white settlers and Xhosa-speaking people living east of the Fish River

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1795	Conquest of the Cape by the British, who return it to the Dutch in 1802, but finally occupy it again in 1806; British rule over the Cape is finally sanctioned by the Vienna Congress in 1815
"Black fiddlers" play for European dancers at Lady Ann Barnard's residence	**1797**	
Description of Muslim Sufi rituals including specific songs	**Late 18th century**	
"Free blacks" give music lessons to slaves in Cape Town	**Early 19th century**	
	1809	"Hottentot Code" is imposed, whereby Khoikhoi are required to carry passes when moving around in public
Mentions of "Hottentots" appropriating European melodies	**1811–1812**	
Ntsikana Gaba composes his "Great Hymn", the first African Christian song	**1822**	
New Year is celebrated with street parades	**1823**	
Foundation of Lovedale Presbyterian Mission Station, where African pupils learn European hymns and music	**1824**	
Widow Colyn of Klein Constantia keeps a slave orchestra	**1825**	
	1829	Ordinance 50 removes the most restrictive provisions of the 1809 "Hottentot Law": all discriminatory measures against the Khoikhoi are abolished; the Khoikhoi and "free persons of colour" legally enjoy the same rights as whites
	1834	1 December: Abolition of slavery at the Cape. Former slaves celebrate Abolition by parading in the streets to the accompaniment of musical instruments

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1835–1843	Great Trek: 12 000 Afrikaner settlers, along with some of their former slaves, leave the Cape Colony and travel north, where they will found the Boer Republics
Former "apprentices" celebrate with singing in the streets	**1838**	End of "apprenticeship"
Opening of the Genadendal Training School, introduction of Moravian brass-bands style of playing	**1838**	
"Coloured" and "Malayan" bands play for Cape Town's "high society"	**Second half of 19th century**	
	1853	First constitution of the Cape Province, supposedly "colour blind"
First performance of a troupe of Christy's Minstrels in Cape Town	**1862**	
Cape Town *Klopse* celebrate the New Year by parading in the streets in various costumes, singing and playing little sketches: beginnings of the New Year Carnival (*Kaapse Klopse Karnaval*)	**1870s**	
	1881	First Anglo-Boer War
The Salvation Army begins its work in Cape Town; introduction of Salvation Army brass-band style	**1883**	
John Knox Bokwe publishes a collection of African hymns entitled *Amaculo ase Lovedale*, which includes Ntsikana Gaba's "Great Hymn"	**1885**	
First visit to the Cape of Orpheus M. McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers	**1890**	
Enoch Sontonga composes "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*"	**1897**	
"Rainbow Balls", master and servants mix in dancing	**Late 19th century**	
	1899–1902	Second Anglo-Boer War
1 January: First carnival competitions held at the Green Point Track	**1907**	

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1910	Creation of the Union of South Africa as a free governing dominion within the British Empire uniting the Cape Colony, the Natal Colony and the Republics of Transvaal and Orange
	1912	Foundation of the South African Native National Congress, which becomes the African National Congress in 1923
	1913	Native Land Act: blacks can only own land in the "Reserves", which represent 7,3 per cent of the total land area of South Africa; extended to 12,7 per cent by the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act
American records reach the Cape	**Late 1910s**	
	1916	Reservation of Separate Amenities Act establishing segregation in public places
	1923	Native Urban Areas Act: Africans are forced to live in urban "locations"
	1927	Langa developed as a "model" location for Cape Town Africans
The Jazz Singer, starring Al Jolson, is shown at Cape Town cinemas	**1929**	
Temmy Hawker, Jimmy Adams and "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka active on the Cape Town dance and jazz scenes	**1930s–1950s**	
David de Lange most popular Afrikaans singer; frequently records with a coloured banjo player, George Abrahams; some of his songs are banned by the SABC	**1930s–1940s**	
Creation of the Eoan Group	**1933**	
Creation of the Cape Malay Choir Board	**1939**	
	1948	The National Party wins the elections on a programme of "separate development" (apartheid)

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1950	Enactment of laws organising apartheid: Population Registration Act; Group Areas Act; Immorality (Amendment) Act; Suppression of Communism Act
	1950	The Pan African Congress (PAC) is founded
Creation of the Suid-Afrikaanse Koorraad by *Sangkore* refusing to participate in the Van Riebeeck Festival	**1952**	
Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) makes his first recording with the Tuxedo Slickers	**1954**	
	1955	26 June: a Freedom Charter is adopted by the Congress of the People gathered at Kliptown, Soweto
	1955	Implementation of a Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the Cape Province
The Eoan Group opera company performs Giuseppe Verdi's *La Traviata* in Italian	**1956**	Treason Trial: 156 anti-apartheid activists, are arrested and charged with "high treason"; they are eventually acquitted in 1961
First recordings of *kwela* by Elias Lerole	**1956**	
The musical *King Kong* plays for several months in Cape Town; Chris McGregor invites Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa and Kippie Moeketsi, who play in the backing orchestra, to perform at the UCT College of Music	**1957**	
Dollar Brand (Adbullah Ibrahim) and the Jazz Epistles record *Verse 1*, a manifesto of South African modern jazz	**1959**	
	1960	21 March: Sharpeville Massacre – police open fire on a crowd demonstrating against pass laws, killing 69 people

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1960	Following the adoption of the Unlawful Organisations Act, No. 34 of 1960, the ANC and the PAC are banned
Creation of the non-racial Southern African Music Rights Organisation	**1961**	31 May: South Africa leaves the Commonwealth and becomes a Republic
Chris McGregor organises a concert with African musicians from Langa at the University of Cape Town	**1961**	
Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim), Sathima "Bea" Benjamin, Johnny Gertze and Makaya Ntoshko leave for Europe	**1962**	Reorganisation of the SABC, creation of Radio Bantu
Chris McGregor and his Septet perform at the Castle Lager Jazz Festival, Moroka Jabavu Stadium, Soweto	**1962**	
Gideon Nxumalo records his *Jazz Fantasia* during a live performance at the University of the Witwatersrand	**1962**	
CAPAB (Cape Performing Arts Board) is established	**1963**	
Chris McGregor and the Blue Notes perform at the Cold Castle Moroka Jabavu Jazz Festival; a few days later Chris McGregor and the Castle Lager Big Band record *Jazz: The African Sound* for Gallo	**1963**	11 July: 19 ANC leaders are arrested; in 1964, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are found guilty of sabotage and given life sentences
July: Chris McGregor and the Blue Notes leave South Africa with an exit visa and perform at the Antibes-Juan-les-Pins Jazz Festival in France	**1964**	
	1966	District Six is declared a "whites only area"
	1966	6 September: Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd is murdered by a white parliamentary messenger

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1966–1989	"Border Wars": South African military forces intervene in Namibia and Angola to fight SWAPO and the MPLA
	1967	July: Launch of the University Christian Movement, which becomes a major vehicle for disseminating Black Consciousness ideas
Winston Mankunku Ngozi records "*Yakhal'Inkomo*" (The bellowing bull)	**1968**	
	1968	The United Nations declare a cultural boycott of South Africa to protest against the policies of apartheid
Opening of the Nico Malan theatre	**1971**	
June: Abdullah Ibrahim, Robbie Jansen and Basil Coetzee record "Mannenberg"	**1974**	
Morris Goldberg records *Urban Jazz Band*, with Cecil Ricca and Monty Weber	**1975**	
Pacific Express (Robbie Jansen, Issy Ariefdien, Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee, Chris Schilder, Jack Momple, Paul Abrahams, Zane Adams) records *Black Fire*	**1976**	5 January: SATV (for whites) is launched
	1976	16 June: Soweto Uprising – a series of high school student-led protests against the introduction of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in schools are violently put down, causing the death of approximately 176 people, including a number of children
Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu form the band Juluka	**Late 1976**	
	1977	12 September: Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, dies at the hands of the police

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1977	19 October: Organisations linked to the Black Consciousness Movement are banned
	1979	Blacks are allowed to form trade unions: Creation of FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions)
David Kramer releases his debut album *Bakgat!*	**1980**	School boycotts in Cape Town
Ghomma, by Hans Roosenschoon, an "art" music composition inspired by the music of the *Klopse* and the *Sangkore*	**1980**	
Creation of the Tafelberg Koorraad	**1982**	TV channels SABC 2 and 3, aimed at black audiences, are launched
Amampondo release their first album, *Heartbeat of Africa*, *Uyandibiza*, which signals the emergence of *marimba* bands in Cape Town	**1983**	Tricameral Constitution: in addition to the House of Assembly (whites), two separate assemblies are created for coloureds (House of Representatives) and Indians (House of Delegates)
Formation of the mixed band Mango Groove	**1983**	Launch of the End Conscription Campaign (EEC) to protest the drafting of young white males who are sent to fight the "Border Wars" in Namibia and Angola
John Simons composes *Threnody 2 for Strings* for Steve Biko, an "art" music composition dedicated to the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement	**1983**	28 August: launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town
Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee and Paul Abrahams regularly perform at UDF rallies	**1983–1988**	
Timbila, by Hans Roosenschoon, a composition combining a symphony orchestra and a Chopi xylophone ensemble	**1984**	
	1985	Creation of COSATU (Confederation of South African Trade Unions), which unites all trade unions opposed to apartheid

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1985	20 July: Declaration of a State of Emergency in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal; extended in August to the Western Cape; demonstrations and meetings against apartheid, and various boycotts become permanent until the end of the 1980s
Shifty Records release the LP *Forces Favourites* in support of the EEC	**1986**	
Kevin Volans' *White Man Sleeps*, for harpsichord and viola da gamba	**1986**	
Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee records *Sabenza*	**1986**	
Creation of MAPP (Music Action for People's Power) in Cape Town	**1986**	
Creation of SAMA (South African Musicians' Alliance)	**1987**	The ANC organises the "Culture in Another South Africa" conference in Amsterdam
Gerald "Mac" McKenzie records *Mr Mac and The Genuines*	**1987**	
Taliep Petersen and David Kramer's *District Six: The Musical* opens at the Baxter Theatre	**1987**	
Creation of Tananas with Gito Baloi, Ian Herman and Steve Newman	**1987**	
Bright Blue records "Weeping", which includes a quotation from "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*"	**1988**	The United Nations extend their boycott of South Africa to all cultural and academic activities
	1988	24 February: the UDF is banned
Shifty Records release Kalahari Surfers' LP *Bigger than Jesus*	**1989**	P.W. Botha resigns and is succeeded by F.W. de Klerk as leader of the National Party and President of the Republic
Darius Brubeck opens the Centre for Jazz and Popular Music at the University of Natal	**1989**	
Voëlvry Afrikaans rock movement	**1989**	
Robbie Jansen records *Vastrap Island*, which includes the song "How I'd Love to Feel Free"	**1989**	

Music	Dates	Social and political history
Prophets of Da City release the first South African rap album, *Our World*	**1990**	2 February: President F.W. de Klerk announces the unbanning of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the PAC
	1990	11 February: Nelson Mandela is released from prison
	1991	The major laws defining apartheid are abolished
	1991	20–21 December: The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) opens, in which 19 social and political organisations negotiate a new political system
	1992	Referendum takes place asking white South Africans if they support the current negotiations; 68,7 per cent vote "yes"
Boom Shaka release their single "It's about Time", which becomes *kwaito*'s first massive hit	**1993**	
	1994	26–29 April: First democratic elections; the ANC wins a large majority
Formation of the Springbok Nude Girls in Stellenbosch	**1994**	10 May: Nelson Mandela is sworn in as President of the Republic; F.W. de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki are Vice-Presidents
14 August: Abdullah Ibrahim's *Tricentenary Suite*, in commemoration of the arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf of Macassar in South Africa, is played in Cape Town by the CAPA Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Victor Ntoni	**1994**	
Amampondo and the Solid Brass Quintet record *A Crash of Cultures*	**1995**	The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995, creates a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate violations of human rights perpetrated between 1960 and 1994; Archbishop Desmond Tutu is appointed chairperson; the TRC to submit its final report on 21 March 2003

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	1996	8 May: the Constituent Assembly approves a democratic constitution; it is signed into law on 10 December
	1996	The South African government adopts the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR), which shifts macroeconomic policy towards neo-liberalism
	1996	4 June: White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage
Alex van Heerden records *Gramadoelas*	**1999**	2 June: National elections; the ANC wins and Thabo Mbeki succeeds Nelson Mandela as President of the Republic
Michael Blake launches the New Music Indaba at the Grahamstown National Arts Festival	**2000**	
	2004	14 April: National elections; Thabo Mbeki is re-elected President
Mark Dornford-May and Pauline Malefane's *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha*, a film based on Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen*	**2005**	
Alex van Heerden and Hilton Schilder record *Rock Art, Future Cape*	**2006**	
	2007	18 December: Jacob Zuma elected President of the ANC
Launch of the programme Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying, under the aegis of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation	**2007**	
The Radio Kalahari Orkes records *Die Nagloper, Die musiek van David de Lange gespeel deur die Radio Kalahari Orkes*	**2007**	
	2008	20 September: President Mbeki is "recalled" by the ANC and must resign; he is replaced with Vice-President Kgalema Motlanthe

Music	Dates	Social and political history
	2009	22 April: National elections; Jacob Zuma elected President of the Republic
The Nightingale String Quartet records pieces composed as part of Michael Blake's Bow Project	**2010**	
Mac McKenzie's *Goema Symphony No.1*	**2011**	

CHAPTER ONE

Music and Identity: A Theoretical Prologue

In his *Memories of Slavery*, Édouard Glissant, the Martiniquean philosopher who proposed a comprehensive conception of creolisation, suggests that: "Maybe we should be suspicious of the idea of identity, but even more of keeping silent about it" (Glissant 2007: 35). Identity has emerged, during the past 50 years, as a key topic in the social sciences. Since Erik Erikson started studying "identity crises" in the 1950s (Erikson 1968), numerous volumes and articles have been devoted to defining the concept and studying phenomena that it could help analyse. From psychology, "identity" has been transposed to anthropology, sociology, political science and other disciplines in the social sciences[1]. More recently "identity" has become a keyword in studies of music, especially of popular music, and most musicologists now agree with Simha Arom and Frank Alvarez-Pereyre that: "[…] music is one of the expressive means through which a cultural group constructs its identity" (Arom & Alvarez-Pereyre 2007: 8). In the extant literature on music and identity[2], the notion of identity has been given many definitions and has been put to various analytical uses. This is why it still appears necessary to present a few general considerations on "identity", and the role music plays in its construction and performance, before attempting to understand how certain representations of Cape Town emanate from musical practices that have taken place in the Mother City, as well as from contemporary musicians' discourse.

A General Framework for the Study of "Identity"

Sociologist Claude Dubar distinguishes two main trends in identity studies: an *essentialist* orientation, which sees identity as a collective "essence" that defines individuals belonging to a particular group and indelibly fashions their attitudes and behaviours; and what he terms a *nominalist* or *existentialist* orientation, which

rejects the idea of an inalterable group essence imprisoning individuals. He insists on the constructed character of identities and on their discursive dimension (Dubar 2000: 2–4). Most students of identity now adhere to the second orientation and focus on processes of identity construction. These processes articulate three main types of operations: relating identity with otherness; selecting material in history, space and culture; and devising propositions likely to mobilise a target group into action[3].

Identity and otherness

Psychology and psychoanalysis insist on the reflexive dimension of any process of identity construction: it is through the discovery of Others and the exploration of the relationships that can be entertained with them, that an infant develops her own personality. Similarly, no social group can coalesce, become aware of its existence and act as a unit without distinguishing itself from groups perceived as different. Distinction and feelings of difference are necessary ingredients of the emergence of selfness (Amselle 1990; Augé 1988, 1994; Benoist 1977). However, identity and otherness are not simply in a relation of distinction; they are inextricably intertwined. Philosopher Paul Ricœur has ingeniously captured the complexity of the dialectics of the Self and the Other in the title of his book: *Soi-même comme un autre* (*Oneself as Another*), in which he demonstrates that getting any sense of selfhood demands, in addition to distinguishing between Oneself and Others, a consideration of the Other that implies both the perception of the Other as part of Oneself – Oneself is like the Other – and the discovery of Oneself as an Other (Ricœur 1990: 14[4]). The Other lies at the heart of the development of the Self and *affects* – in all meanings of the verb – the understanding of Oneself by Oneself (Ricœur 1990: 380). The reflexivity inherent to any process of identity construction – be it individual or collective – is the cause of incessant adjustments and changes: in this perspective individuals and groups can never be considered as confined within one and only one identity, they always carry a multiplicity of potential identities, and identities are never immutable but constantly transform. The predicament of individuals and groups is to manage unavoidable changes against the backdrop of a maintained sameness; to this end they combine a variety of means (including music) into "plots" around which they can organise narratives about who they are and who they want to be (Ricœur 1990: 168; Somers 1994).

Relations between Self and Other never operate within a social and political vacuum. They are indeed dependent upon power relationships that give individuals

and groups specific hierarchical positions. One of the most important aspects of power is the capacity – very often enshrined as a right – to name and to categorise. Consequently, if there is no possible construction of the Self without the Other, any categorisation formally or informally imposed upon a group by another group impacts on the self-perception of the group that is being categorised and on the identity it can construct for itself. This implies that the self-identity of a group is always the result of multiple adjustments between auto-definitions and exo-assignations, conditioned by the respective positions occupied by various groups relative to power. Groups categorised as inferior (such as low castes and untouchables in India, or blacks in apartheid South Africa) sometimes interiorise the inferiority ascribed to them by groups in power and include it in the self-definition of their identity; they can also react against it and strive to construct an identity clearly different from and contradictory to the one ascribed to them by those in power. Identity is actually a contested field in which the possibility for any one individual or group to select elements from the multiplicity of potential identities they carry, and also to use elements grasped from what they construe as the identity of other groups to which they identify are brought into play (Alexander 2001: 148–149; Hall 1994; Laclau 2000). Identification and appropriation are powerful mechanisms of identity construction.

Building materials

Many types of materials, inherited or borrowed, are used in processes of identity construction. They can be organised in three main categories, which do not exhaust their variety: materials pertaining to history, to space and to culture.

History and memory

Most identity narratives are related to particular conceptions of history that give credence to the asserted ancientness of the group, distinguish it from other groups and legitimise either its position in power relationships or its demands for increased respect, rights and power. These conceptions of history imply a selection, a reorganisation and a reinterpretation of past events and circumstances; they constitute the memory of the group. Memory enters into the process of identity production because it offers a "present of the past" that "[…] has more to do with the truth of the present than with the reality of the past" (Lavabre 1995: 43). Memory provides collective blazes and norms of solidary behaviour that are heavily loaded with affection; it relies on reinvented traditions (Hobsbawm &

Ranger 1983; Ranger 1993), fantasies about golden ages, and establishes more or less imaginary filiations. For subjugated groups, memory contributes to filling gaps left by official histories and to fighting negative characterisations elaborated by the dominant groups; it tells of injustice and past glories.

Space and territory

Memory is rooted in space. Feelings of belonging are coterminous with experiences of space in two ways: as members of a group transform the territory they occupy, they saturate it with symbolical meanings; consequently a territory modelled and remodelled by human action may become one of the identity symbols of the group that occupies it (Di Méo 2004). Space is not only physically transformed by those who inhabit it, they imbue it with particular types of sociability, of fragrances, of sounds. Geographer Christine Chivallon suggests that because space is semiotised (Chivallon 2004a: 406), it can nourish a sense of identity in the form of feelings of belonging rooted into a territory that has been the site of a particular history and displays characteristics deemed typical of the group that lives in it. When people are forced to live in an imposed space, they try to make it their own, mark it in various manners (including with sounds) and often rename it; even when a bounded space is ascribed to a particular group, efforts are made to appropriate it and give it a certain homeliness, as shown by the example of many ghettoes around the world and of black townships in South Africa. When members of a group claim they, or their ancestors, have occupied a particular space for long periods of time, they assume they have imprescriptible rights on it[5]. Space can be disputed and become the locus of struggles between groups which consider they own it; in these quarrels music is often used as an identity marker and accompanies processions attempting to occupy, at least temporarily, the contested territory (Jaffrelot 2002).

Culture

Cultural practices provide occasions for collective actions undertaken around shared symbolic codes. There are times – most often inscribed in particular spaces and recalled in memory narratives – when communal awareness is aroused and when groups distinguish themselves from other groups through the specificities of what they do together. Music, festivals, cuisine and indeed languages are used as emblems of identity and signs of difference. Although most cultural practices have mixed origins and result from intense exchanges and appropriations, identity discourses insist on specificity, purity and uniqueness. Cultural practices

and products are modelled and staged so that they can embody and project a particular conception of identity. They are used to try and mobilise on an affective basis people supposed to belong to a group, who should therefore support spokespersons for this group in their attempt to access power or defend whatever privilege they hold.

History recomposed in collective memory, space and culture supplies disputed resources for the construction of identities, resources utilised in strategies devised to enhance or defend the relative positions groups occupy within a society, or nations occupy on the world stage. "Groups", in this framework of analysis, are no more essential than identities. They can be considered as "imagined communities" in a somewhat broader sense than Benedict Anderson actually suggested (Anderson 1983): as social entities temporarily cemented by a belief of belonging together and having common interests, a belief reinforced by shared cultural practices. Groups are therefore fluid and overlap. Individuals always belong to more than one group and may choose between groups, and decide to participate in several groups (Martin 1995).

Identity enterprises

The aim of identity entrepreneurs is precisely to convince individuals to choose and support a group whose borders these entrepreneurs define in order to make it appear unique, exclusive and pure. The group must seem to be as different as possible from other groups, although there are often degrees of difference which allow one to distinguish between potential allies and implacable foes. Constructing the identity of one group therefore implies giving Others other identities. The invention of the Other – be they "Orientals" (Said 1978) or Africans (Mudimbe 1988) – is part and parcel of the consolidation of the Self. Nationalist intellectuals in colonial societies (Smith 1971), ethnic leaders (Smith 1981), clerics of various denominations have devised identity narratives liable to attract a large number of individuals sharing at one point in time the same territory, participating in the same cultural practices, and ready to believe they have a history in common. On this basis, they form political organisations that claim to represent and defend the exclusive interests of the group. If European nationalists in the 19th century Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires and African nationalists in 20th century colonial territories have ben able to mobilise in great numbers people who felt they belonged together, once they had gained independence and erected a state, divisions appeared that led to the emergence of opposed groups vying for power.

These new entities may be based on origin, language, religion, social status; they have to reinvent a specific identity, which new organisations will undertake to "defend". The history of independent Africa (Mamdani 2004) as well as recent events in Central Europe (Capelle-Pogăcean, Michel & Pace dir. 2007; Ragaru 2007) have illustrated abundantly these processes of group decomposition and recomposition. The recourse to identity as a tool for mobilisation in power struggles very often coincides with the erosion of ideologies that have provided the basis for political organisation in the 20th century. It implies that political ideas and political leaders, now devoid of strong ideological engagements, become fully "identitarised", that actions, discourses and public figures are placed behind the banner of a particular identity.

Identity configurations

Phenomena grouped under the label "identity" are socially constructed; they imply a dialectics of the Self and the Other that generates changes in the dimensions, in the boundaries, and in the politics of groups. These changes cause modifications in histories, memories, attitudes towards space and symbolic signification of cultural practices that invalidate all essentialist conceptions of identity. But it also shows that "identity" as a concept is too loose – if it is not completely vacuous – to be of any heuristic value. Consequently, social-science analyses should rather focus on identity configurations and identity narratives.

The polysemy of the word "configuration" can adequately convey the malleability of phenomena related to "identity". It means not only the contour of an ensemble and its internal structural arrangement, but also the action of configuring, that is the elaboration process of which both contour and structure are the result. Paul Ricœur identifies "narrative configurations" when he analyses the ideologisation of memory, and he underlines that configuring allows play on a rich potential of variations (Ricœur 2000: 103). Norbert Elias has demonstrated that configuring is always a process and that, as a consequence, configurations are permanently transforming under the effects of fluctuating balances of tensions and forces (Elias 1985, 1987). Margaret Somers (1994) concurs with Paul Ricœur in emphasising the narrative dimension of identity configurations: they are expressed at various levels and in various idioms. Identity narratives are ubiquitous in ordinary daily life (Brubaker et al. 2006), they also culminate in grand narratives that compete with other such narratives to impose representations of the past, the present and the future, and participate in power struggles (Létourneau

1995; Somers 1994: 629–631). Narrativity does not only mean the utterance of feelings of belonging, self-definitions, and identifications through words. If discursiveness – understood as the ability to speak in verbal narratives – is central to identity configuration, then one should not underestimate the importance of its symbolical expression through other media: all cultural practices – including music – can be used to convey ideas and feelings about identity. Narrativity must therefore be understood as comprising all the procedures that allow for the circulation in social networks of discourses, narratives and symbols that, in both verbal or non-verbal forms, aim at persuading people that they belong to, or should support, a particular group.

Studying "identity" should therefore imply studying processes that underpin the construction, expression and activation of identity configurations, as well as the conditions in which these configurations succeed or fail to attract a large part of those who are actually targeted by identity enterprises. From this perspective, it seems indispensable to pay attention to discourses, behaviours and signs which in ordinary life signal sodality: to those innumerable small events that inscribe in the mind a singular, temporary, sometimes ephemeral, relation to a social aggregate, and also exhibit it in the eyes of Others (Brubaker et al. 2006).

Putting the stress on configuration and narrativity, however, does not amount to falling back into the traps of "soft constructivism" opened by extreme post-modernism. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper have exposed the weaknesses of theories which confer so much fluidity and multiplicity to identity phenomena that it actually becomes impossible to either grasp or analyse them: "'Soft constructivism' allows putative 'identities' to proliferate. But as they proliferate, the term looses its analytical purchase. If identity is everywhere, it is nowhere. If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal, and crystallize?" (Brubaker & Cooper 2000: 1).

It is precisely the understanding of how the definition and characterisation of a group is developed, disseminated, interiorised and expressed that the notions of identity configuration and narrativity attempt to grasp, by relating micro-procedures that weave daily life to grand narratives and large political enterprises. It is the understanding of how individual agency and choices are aggregated into networks of belonging and sharing that these notions want to introduce in the analysis of identity phenomena, by looking at how social actors identify with, appropriate and combine identity markers in ordinary situations as well as when they have to make crucial political decisions.

Music and Identity Configurations

Within this framework of analysis, there is obviously a place for music. Music is part and parcel of daily life; it participates both in the configuration (meant as the action of configuring) of "identities" and in their expression. It links people who share the same musical tastes and/or make music together, and therefore awakens or reinforces the awareness of belonging to a group. It manifests identifications through citation, borrowing and appropriation. It evokes memories of the past. It symbolises groups – for themselves and in the ears of others – and the places that they consider their own. When they speak of music, musicians and listeners tell of their feelings of identity. It is these various aspects of the relationship between music and identity configurations that I should like to explore from a general perspective, to provide the background to a re-evaluation of the history of the various musics that have resounded through Cape Town across the centuries, before going on to investigate the particular relationship Capetonian musicians entertain today with the Mother City.

Thinking through music

At the beginning of his *Very Short Introduction to Music*, Nicholas Cook states: "People *think* through music, decide who they are through it, express themselves through it […] Rather than being something apart, music is in the very midst of things. In fact, it is less a 'something' than a way of knowing the world, a way of being ourselves […]" (Cook 1998: ix; emphasis in the original). If music is a way of knowing, a way of thinking and a way of being, it does not simply reflect something – a society, a group – that is a given already there; it does not only represent a collective, but contributes to shaping it through sharing, making and imagining together (Wade 1998). In order to understand fully the place of music in identity configurations, one should first consider that, as structured sound, it is a "total social fact" (Feld 1984: 383). From this perspective, music analytically becomes a "total musical fact" (Nattiez 1990: ix), which implies that music is an inextricable combination of audible elements and social processes. The sonic characteristics of music – parameters, structures and forms – should be analysed, but the study of the production and reception of musical products, of the rituals of performance (Parkes 1994), of discourses about music, and of the historical and political contexts in which production, reception and discourses occur is also indispensable (Nattiez 1995); not to try and establish correlations between sound structure and social

structure, as Alan Lomax attempted to do with his "cantometrics" (Lomax 1962), but to unravel the relationships between sound patterns and social modes of musical production and utilisation (Feld 1984: 405–406).

Feeling through music

Making and listening to music is a whole-body activity, one that necessarily relates to socially coded body languages. This is why "Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers to the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives" (Frith 1996: 124). The acts of singing together (Losonczy 1997), of making music together, of listening to music together, and even – to draw a parallel with what Benedict Anderson wrote about printed material (Anderson 1983) – the realisation that other people in distant places share the same musical tastes and participate in similar musical activities, nourish the consciousness of belonging to the same group or to related social networks. Playing or listening to music shows the group as a physical entity. "Performance […] is a form of social practice that orders experience and brings values and identities to life. Artistic performances reflect ideas and create images of ideal personality, involving both the elaboration and learning of new scripts for self-presentation. By means of empathetic, emotionally charged cultural communication, performances both symbolise and actualise changing self-definitions and help to bring order out of the chaos of diverse and conflicting images" (Coplan 2008: 405). This is why there is hardly a demonstration, a strike or a political meeting that does not produce music. Groups or organisations, especially religious organisations, marching in processions through a space they claim, although it is occupied by "other" people, endeavour to temporarily alter the identity of the space they travel through by showering it with "their" music; Ireland and India have provided many examples of this use of music. Singing was a major feature of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, as well as of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. And if national anthems and religious hymns signify particular groups, the "Internationale"[6] means both a social group (the working class, its allies and its transnational connections) and a "humankind" freed from all alienation.

Choosing and combining through music

Since individuals can always – within certain constraints – choose among many potential identities or among a large gamut of elements to define themselves;

musical taste, especially when publicly asserted, is a means of projecting a preferred identity. Pierre Bourdieu defines taste as "[…] the basis of everything that one possesses, persons and goods, and of everything that one is in the eyes of others; the basis of self-classification and of classification by others. Tastes (meaning manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an unavoidable difference" (Bourdieu 1979: 59). He considers music and musical taste to be among the most potent social classifiers (Bourdieu 1979: 17).

Individuals are classified, that is they are considered members of a particular group, by the music they enjoy listening to or playing; conversely, they can openly reject exo-classifications and assigned identities by publicly stating and showing their taste for musics deemed to "belong" not to their in-group but to out-groups. From his research in the Amazon rainforest, Anthony Seeger concludes: "Members of a given community may have several alternative identities they can activate at different times, thus changing group affiliation"; similarly: "The identity of a community can change quite rapidly, in ways often related to other changes in the social, political, and economic system of which they are a part" (Seeger 1994: 11). In a totally different context, in a Toronto high school whose students come from many different backgrounds, Daniel A. Yon has shown that young people display their desire to identify with or join groups of which they are not originally part – in which they are not immediately classified because of their physical features, their mother language, or their country of birth – by openly manifesting their inclination for the musical styles and genres "others" enjoy and consider a mark of their identity. Making music a cornerstone of the self-definition of their identity allows students to combine various elements, to express ambivalence and contradictions, and to adapt to different contexts. In Canada, "These youths are racialized subjects, but they situate themselves in the discourses of race in complex and contradictory ways as they both affirm, and undermine the racialized constructions of their identities. Youth identify with specific racial formations in their quest for identity, but at the same time, they assert their desire to be recognized as different and as bearers of their own beliefs" (Yon 2000: 103). Music is one of the expressive media through which they can convey their desires and aspirations, hesitations and vacillations. Crain Soudien, in his study of eight Cape Town schools, reaches the same conclusions and emphasises how identification through music can extend beyond the borders of locality to intertwine ethnic, national and international elements. Students use music to signify they belong to a global community (Soudien 2009: 28). Throughout the 20th century, and possibly even before then, African-American musics have been used by black South

Africans to include themselves into a world of counter-modernity that negated racist stereotypes of inferiority and backwardness. One's taste in "alternative" types of music now provides a means of escaping racial labelling, and sharing in contemporary global pop allows today's youth to delineate a ground on which cross-racial friendships can be edified (Soudien 2009: 109–110).

Imagining through music

People not only "think through music" (Cook 1998: ix), they also imagine communities. They develop feelings of belonging to an entity so vast they cannot physically embrace it; they dream of affective ties, which may be politically mobilised. In Nigeria, for instance: "Yoruba popular music portrays an imagined community of some 30 million people – a sodality that no individual could know in its entirety through first-hand experience – and embodies the ideal affective texture of social life and the melding of new and old, exotic and indigenous within a unifying syncretic framework" (Waterman 1997: 51). Therefore it is not only an abstract group that one feels related to through music, it often is an idealised social order (Coplan 2001: 108) or a golden age. Changes in music as well as changes in musical tastes and changes in discourses on music can signal changes in identity configurations, which, in turn, may induce new musical changes. *Musette* played on the accordion, which for several decades in the 20th century was the musical symbol of Paris, has almost disappeared with the expulsion of workers and low-paid employees from the capital and their relocation in suburban dormitory cities. It has been replaced with pop songs and rap, the lyrics of which perpetuate the use of slang and the popular expressions that traditionally accompanied *musette*. Eventually, a new repertoire of "neo-realist" songs emerged which interlaces traces of *musette* with elements of modern pop in order to suggest Frenchness, popular origins and modernity. Music is not a language and does not carry arbitrary signification (Escal 1979; Imberty 1979), consequently, underlines Richard Middleton, musical codes are more open than those of other signifying practices: "By open-ness is meant both that specific musical elements are usually less firmly embedded in particular syntactic and semantic structures than are, for example, words, and that those conventions of meaning and syntax which do exist are more general, less precise, leaving greater freedom to make specific orientations in specific contexts" (Middleton 1985: 40). Musical meaning derives from a very complex chain of interactions weaving together the intentions of the artists and the condition in which they work, the sentiments – informed by social codes and

fashions, economic and political constraints – listeners project into music, and the intrinsic characters of the musical "object" (Nattiez 1990). Musical meaning, especially when it relates to identity configurations, is therefore extremely plastic and changes according to the conditions in which the chain of interactions that fashions it takes place. It is obviously sensitive to political mutations that affect the respective positions of social groups and the relations they entertain.

Music as a System of Differences

If musical meaning is produced through a complex chain of interactions in which desires, discourses, aesthetic concerns, social, economic and political conditions each play an important role, there would be no musical meaning without the intrinsic characteristics defining the specificity of a piece, a form, a style or a genre. The musical "object" (Molino 1975), or rather the "trace" (Nattiez 1990: 12–16) left by this musical "object", is the core which is enveloped by the rest. Any analysis of the relationship between particular musical products and identity configurations must therefore take into account the intrinsic characteristics of the musical products under investigation which constitute discernible elements of differentiation (Defrance 2007). These intrinsic characteristics can be organised in a "mosaic" of parameters which includes instruments and musical forms, the names they are given, their symbolical functions, and the circumstances in which they are performed (Fernando 2007[7]). Regarding musical forms, the characteristics[8] of the pieces and repertoires which are included in the study must be described in order to understand how musical markers may become identity emblems and may participate in the musical enactment of a community (Defrance 2007: 20).

Categorisation and identification

Music is a system of audible differences. Discernible variations in pitch, duration, intensity and timbre, oppositions between sound and silence, organised in particular structures and forms, allow the listener not only to qualify a succession of sounds (which can themselves be composed of a variety of sonic elements) as "music"[9], but to categorise it in different styles and genres which are given particular names. The categorisation and labelling of specific ensembles of sound constitute one of the bridges between music and identity configurations. For musical categories are tightly linked with the social circumstances[10] in which music is produced and consumed, and symbolise the privileged relationship that is supposed to exist

between a group and a musical style or genre. As a matter of fact, categorisation is usually based on factual correspondences between musical categories[11] and social categories: the most obvious correlation appears when specific repertoires are reserved for women or for men; but certain genres (such as rock, disco, techno and rap) are considered as part of youth subcultures, and other (such as western or Indian "classical" music) as emblems of a "high" or "legitimate" culture reserved for a social "elite"; particular styles are associated with specific nations or social groups (jazz with African-Americans; tango with Argentina; *kwaito* with urban post-apartheid youth in South Africa).

Although relationships established between musical categories and social categories generally correspond to actual musical preferences shared in a given period by a majority within particular social groups, these relationships are not stable: they are affected by social changes and may differ from place to place. Jazz has become universal; tango still connotes Argentina, but has been adopted in many other countries; rock is no longer a music of the youth, and a lot of those who were attracted to it when they were teenagers, and are now in their sixties or seventies, still love it and carry on listening to "idols" who have become senior citizens; rap is apparently following the same route. If "classical" music still seems the preserve of the economically or educationally privileged[12], there have been instances when it has become extremely popular; Hugo Chavez's Venezuela provides an example of such a democratisation of "classical" music.

It is therefore the mechanisms whereby social signification is attributed to musical differences, and musical categories are created for social purposes that should be more precisely investigated. These mechanisms are related to processes of identification. Identification means two opposed actions: the act of identifying (one identifies *with*) and the state of being identified (one is identified *by*); music intervenes in both.

"Our" music

Individuals imbibe from their infancy – and possibly even before when they are still in their mother's womb – musical traits which they perceive as part and parcel of the affective environment in which they are raised. These traits, when they grow older, are integrated in the social knowledge which allows them to define their in-group, to know other members of their in-group from their musical activities or musical tastes, and to distinguish them from members of out-groups. Many studies demonstrate how characteristics of particular styles and genres played

in certain regions or within certain groups have become emblematic of these regions and groups (Abou Mrad 2005): intervals, melodic lines, intonations and rhythm patterns allow listeners to distinguish between "our" music and "their" music. Melvin L. Butler shows that even when differences between groups or organisations may seem minimal, as in the case of Haitian Pentecostal churches and "Heavenly Army" independent churches, characteristics of the music they play during services, especially rhythms and voice textures, contribute to maintaining a clearly perceptible distinction between them: when entering a temple, one can immediately know from the singing to which church the congregation belongs (Butler 2002). Similarly, but in the very different setting of Ethiopia, Olivier Tourny has analysed how the production of musical difference is engineered by adherents of religions which have a lot in common, in order to magnify what separates them (Tourny 2007). More generally, musical characteristics (instruments and their timbres, modes, rhythm patterns, structures, etc.) are arranged in musical systems with which members of a group identify, and which they consider as constitutive of their "identity": "[…] they collectively recognise specific musical parameters as characteristic of their culture for these parameters distinguish them from neighbouring communities. They usually say 'this is from home', which implies 'it cannot be found anywhere else as it is here'" (Fernando 2007: 40).

"Their" music

In the same manner, musical parameters are associated with "foreign" cultures and "other" groups. The identification of out-groups by their music may be neutral and play the same role Claude Levi-Strauss ascribed to body marks: they make the inclusion of an individual in a group visible (in this case audible), and facilitate the establishment of necessary relationships with members of other groups: totemic classifications, materialised in scarifications or ornaments (as well as in music) serve to prevent the closure of the group on itself and "[…] promote something like the notion of a borderless humankind" (Lévi-Strauss 1962: 201).

Music identified as coming from others may also be the medium of identification with the other. As has been mentioned above, high school students in Canada and South Africa play with their musical tastes in order to reinforce, evade or confuse their ascribed identities and signify their identification with particular groups (Soudien 2009; Yon 2000). Exoticism, a desire for the Other – desire to possess the Other and/or to become the Other – has spurred many musical fashions and underlies the current fad for "World Music" (Arom & Martin 2006).

On the other hand, perceived musical differences may also nourish hostility against other groups. In the 20th century fans of musical genres such as jazz and rock were labelled "savages" and "barbarians". They were actually assimilated with the groups from which these musics were supposed to originate, and attributed the negative stereotypes imposed on these groups. The music associated with "others" perceived as radically different, with "others" seen as constituting a threat to purity and morality, is rejected as non-music, un-civilised music, or noise, as a disease likely to endanger the younger members of the group. Early reactions from conservative Americans to Elvis Presley exemplify the manner in which a musician who drew inspiration from African-American forms was associated with black people, themselves considered primitive (which implied promiscuous and lascivious), and consequently rejected as dangerous, sometimes as an incarnation of the devil. Opposition to rock in South Africa, and especially to the brand of rock performed in the *Voëlvry* movement, was based on the same grounds (Hopkins 2006). It shows the extent to which people can be demonised because of the music they play or listen to.

Musical categorisation can even lead to political categorisation. The folk movement in the United States was usually seen as leftist because artists such as Pete Seeger or Peter, Paul and Mary supported trade union action and the Civil Rights Movement. In France, singers like Léo Ferré or Jean Ferrat in the 1960s were also classified as leftists. Cameroon provides a very interesting example of a chain of categorisation linking music to politics. In the early 1990s the musical stage became an arena where a competition developed between two styles, *bikutsi* and *makossa*. *Bikutsi* originated in the centre of the country and was characterised by polyrhythms borrowed from xylophone music typical of this area; *makossa* came from the coast, specifically from Duala, and used different types of rhythm. Because Duala, as a port city, had a more cosmopolitan culture where traces of foreign influences abounded, supporters of *bikutsi* considered *makossa* as both old fashioned and "whorish". Fans of *makossa*, on their side, found *bikutsi* archaic and backward. These judgements had strong political connotations, since criticism against *bikutsi* was in fact directed at people representing the region it came from, that is the group in power led by President Paul Biya; and denunciation of *makossa* was aimed at the opposition, which was popular in the coastal region and in the Duala hinterland (Owona Nguini 1995). In this example, musical styles, identified by their rhythms, become symbols of the region from which they originate, then are given moral attributes which actually mean to characterise individuals born in these regions, and more specifically political leaders representing them.

Back to "our" music

In divided societies where racism, or hostility to particular groups, is rampant to the point of becoming part and parcel of the dominant ideology, musical genres can be made into the emblem of subjugated groups in spite of their extremely mixed origins. Ronald Radano (2003) has precisely analysed how this mechanism operated in the United States. The broad category of "black music" was invented to organise American musics according to racial divisions underpinning American society. Although all American musics are in fact interracial, and although "black" and "white" music share many similar traits and have interacted since slavery was introduced in North America, dominant racial discourses were applied to music and taken over by the music industry to sort genres and repertoires according to the social category in which the musicians who played them were put[13]. Once separated, musics were attributed qualities or defects and ranked according to their degree of "civilisation" and their assumed morality: black musics were exposed as bearing signs of primitiveness and moral depravity. In such a situation, when a group of dominated people have been given the "gift" (Radano 2003: 115) of interracial or creole music, they indeed make it their own: within the boundaries set by segregation, they recreate it, invent new forms, new styles which become not only emblems of their particular culture, but evidence of their creativity, that is of their humanity. Black musics of the United States – blues, black gospel, soul music, jazz, rap – are the pride of African-Americans who, in turn, have presented them as a gift to the whole world where innumerable musicians and music lovers have adopted them. In the United States, several decades after Europeans recognised the artistic value of African-American musics, social and political changes caused transformations in the moral characterisation of black music. If, in spite of the incessant exchanges that have taken place between them, the division between "black" and "white" musics has become almost impossible to erase, most African-American genres have now been accepted in the sphere of "legitimate" culture and several black musicians have been recognised as "national treasures".

In other situations, musicians may choose to mix elements taken from the "traditional"[14] music of their group of origin with others borrowed from foreign cultures. Australian aboriginal musicians, for instance, have used international rock as a stem upon which they could graft indigenous languages, instruments and musical techniques. Their music, categorised as rock, could reach much larger audiences than "pure" aboriginal music, while the changes they brought to mainstream rock reminded these audiences of the presence of aboriginals in

Australian society and demonstrated their capacity not only to adapt to modernity, but to create an original modernity (Dunbar-Hall 2006).

Alliances and connections

Creating or maintaining musical differences amounts to asserting, often to defending, the cultural specificity of a group. However, it is not necessarily the sign of a hostile attitude towards others but is often used as a means of entering into relations or exchange with them, to create connections and to symbolise alliances. For the Secwepemc (Shuswap) of British Columbia (Canada), singing manifests the presence of the singer, and of the group to which she or he belongs, in a territory: it draws boundaries which are both musical and social. However, songs can be traded, and singing songs which have been exchanged formalise alliances between families and groups (Reuther 2007).

In a more subterranean way, music, and the identifications it facilitates, lay the foundations of connective cultures which allow people from various origins who find themselves together in a new territory to reconstruct fellowships and to act jointly for common goals. This is what may have happened in slave societies; this is what has been witnessed by Paul Gilroy within Caribbean communities in the United Kingdom: "The experience of Caribbean migrants to Britain provides further examples of cultural exchange and of the ways in which a self-consciously synthetic culture can support some equally novel political identities […] the role of external meanings around blackness, drawn in particular from Afro-America became important in the elaboration of a connective culture that drew these different 'national' groups together into a new pattern that was not ethnically marked as their Caribbean cultural inheritances had been" (Gilroy 1991: 115). The origins of reggae lie in Jamaica, but it has emerged as the symbol of a larger pan-Caribbean culture rooted in Africa, to which people coming from various islands could identify. It constitutes a thread running across the black Atlantic diaspora, transmitting nuances of a recomposed collective memory in which traces of the movements and experiences of people of African descent are re-signified, while still leaving room for various levels of identification with Africa (and with different ideas of Africa) (Daynes 2004).

This phenomenon is not limited to black Atlantic diasporas, and the increased and intensified circulation of musics made possible by technological innovations gives easy access to every kind of music anywhere in the world. Today, musical exchanges and borrowings know almost no limits; the musical material available

to construct and express new identity configurations appears infinite (Gebesmair & Smudits 2001; Taylor 2001). At the dawn of the 21st century, there are a number of genres and styles which are performed and listened to in nearly every part of the world but, contrary to predictions announcing the homogenisation of cultures in the era of globalisation, these shared genres and styles get inevitably localised. Jazz, rock and rap are universal; but Chinese rock is not identical to aboriginal Australian rock, South African rap does not sound like Senegalese rap, and Brazilian jazz is not a carbon copy of American jazz. A double movement of localising the global and globalising the local furnishes new energy for combining musical elements that can serve as identity markers and enter into new identity configurations (Manuel 1997–1998: 30).

Competitions and contests

The acceleration of musical circulation, which increases the quantity of material available for identity configuration, also provokes an intensification of competition over the signification musical elements can be given in identity configurations. Competition has been an integral dimension of musical life in many societies. Today's hit parades and awards are but contemporary avatars of contests that took place during festivals, especially carnivals, as Port of Spain and Rio de Janeiro, not to mention Cape Town, still remind us. Musical competitions have several and apparently contradictory functions. As musical ensembles represent particular groups (villages, neighbourhoods, regions, nations; social classes; political movements), their participation in competitions demands the support of the group they emanate from and tends to reinforce its cohesion, while the music they play must be as distinct as possible from the music of other orchestras in order to proclaim their difference. However, entering a competition implies agreeing on a set of common rules according to which performances will be adjudicated: competitors participate in the preservation and promotion of an agreement to coexist peacefully. "Competitions can act as facilitators of spiritual *communitas* or as harmonising forces for the people who reside in the area, where the complexities of agreeing to live together and identify with a region and with each other are negotiated" (Gunderson 2000: 16).

Yet, competitions over the signification of music and its place in identity configurations are not always as peaceful as in the situations encountered by Frank Gunderson in East Africa. Adela Peeva, a Bulgarian anthropologist, recounts in a fascinating documentary film how she discovered that a song she knew from her childhood was also familiar to several of her friends from different countries in

the eastern Mediterranean. She then decides to embark on a trip that leads her to Turkey, Greece, Bosnia, Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania. Everywhere, she finds local versions of the same song[15]: the melodies are almost identical, although the rhythms and tempi to which they are put vary, and the lyrics sung in indigenous languages have different meanings. Everywhere she records claims exclusive ownership of this song, and when her interlocutors are informed that people of a different nationality or religion also sing it and consider it their own, they react by contending that it has been "stolen" from them. In at least two occasions, in Serbia, and at the festival of an extreme right party in Romania, she is confronted with furious hostility, and even death threats (Peeva 2003).

Music plays a part in identity configurations because musical differences are interpreted as social differences, although the consequences of this interpretation vary considerably from place to place, from time to time, and may generate feelings of fellowship, connection, alliance, opposition or hostility. The social interpretation of music associates styles and genres with the same building materials used to configure identities: history, space and culture form the social frames of music[16].

The Social Frames of Music

Identity configurations encapsulate and intertwine narratives and symbols. Music intervenes in the process of identity construction because it is a "symbolic form" (Nattiez 1990: 34–37) endowed with a capacity to symbolise through sounds, and also because it is a human creation which is the subject of many narratives. Music can symbolise in its own ways history, space and culture, and inspire stories about them.

Music and memory

Music, and discourses on music, contribute to imagining memories that re-organise the history of a group in order to make it meaningful and useful for the present. Memory conjures up a "present from the past" (Lavabre 1995), it selects facts, ties them with new logics to produce social representations relevant to the present. Memory opens up a capacity to explore the world and to act in the world (Ricœur 2000: 151). Music is used in the elaboration of representations of the past because it is the art of playing with time, with continuity and breaks. In the immediacy of performance, the opposition between sound and silence, the differences between sounds that make music audible are organised in a

succession of moments tightly linked to each other so that they give an impression of continuity within the boundaries of a musical piece[17]. Musicians can arrange time parameters (metre, tempo and rhythm) in their own ways; in so doing, they generate among listeners feelings of continuity and discontinuity, of acceleration and deceleration; it is as if they could stretch time or shorten it at will[18]. Playing or listening to music brings the sensation of being freed from chronometric time (Caïn & Caïn 1982). Musicians' power over time is exercised within forms which are inscribed in history, either because they have been inherited from the past, or because they attempt to break with past forms. Musical images of the past appear within these frames (Caïn & Caïn 1982; Ricœur 2000: 5); they are imbibed with emotion and arouse a particular pleasure of the past (Rosolato 1982). Revelling in the past is derived from the ways music is psychologically internalised. It leaves a mnemonic trace, a sort of condensed souvenir. Mnemonic traces are assembled in networks of associations that link sounds to real or fantasised past events (De Mijolla 1982: 13) and which are given social signification.

The concept of trace is central to the understanding of the place given to music in memory. The more so since, according to Paul Ricœur, it is impossible to disentangle oblivion from trace: oblivion is possible when there has been a trace. This implies that traces may remain, even when they seem to have disappeared from immediate consciousness, and reappear when social and emotional conditions make them necessary, when producers of memory (artists, academics, politicians) rediscover them. Music leaves traces and is obviously one of the goods stocked in the stores of oblivion (Ricœur 2000: 374). It seems that music participates in the three mnemonic modes put forward by Edward Casey (1987) and discussed by Paul Ricœur (2000: 44–53):

1. *reminding*, which recalls something from the past;
2. *reminiscing*, which brings new life to the past through collective evocation; and
3. *recognising*, which makes acknowledgement possible and enables us to know in the present what comes from the past, so that it becomes possible to reintroduce in the present what seemed to have been erased or forgotten.

Music is available for *reminding*: it recalls past social realities through the reinterpretation of styles and genres, the use of instruments, of melodies, of rhythmic patterns that are associated with certain periods of the past. Music stimulates *reminiscing*, since the collective sharing of old forms of music may

bring about the awareness of a possible fellowship in the present, and overcome past antagonisms. Music provides a basis for *recognising*, because it is a product of human creativity and bears testimony to the humanity of people who have been denied it; music reveals the reality of exchanges, of sharing and blending that have always been the motor of human evolution. Paul Ricœur suggests that *recognising* is a "small miracle of happy memory" (Ricœur 2000: 556). It is a requisite for reconciliation and a potential deliverer of social harmony.

Music and tradition

Traces left by music are made of sounds, recorded by various means or inscribed in memories – including bodily memories (Bastide 1967) – and discourses about these sounds. Musical memory is frequently articulated in the idiom of tradition. To understand how notions of tradition are related to identity configurations, one needs to question the conventional meaning of the term. Tradition is usually defined as something which has been transmitted from ancestors to posterity, from time immemorial to the present. It connotes antiquity and the permanence of cultural traits. The value granted to purity, which is supposed to be guaranteed by an unalterable presence through time, has varied: for centuries, it has been seen in the negative, as a sign of primitiveness; with the advent of the "noble savage", then the emergence of movements defending "first peoples", it has become positive and associated with a privileged relationship to nature, which protected it from the ravages of modern development[19].

However, musical traditions, like other traditions, are invented, or rather reinvented from existing realities (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Ranger 1993): they result from historical changes, exchanges and appropriations (Aubert 2001: 42–45) that have been woven into narratives about the past. Imagined pasts (Gerstin 1998: 404–405) and assumed antiquity give tradition an authority which, in turn, it confers to present representations or actions, especially when their goal is to produce change. In other words, tradition legitimises change undertaken in the present in order to shape the future: "[…] every enactment of tradition opens tradition to transformation" (Waterman 1990: 8). As the present becomes past and the future present, traditions evolve and adapt: they are never immutable and in reality function as sources of transformations and innovations which they mark with a stamp of authenticity and legitimacy (Schlanger 1995). Musical traditions constitute "established structures of creativity" (Joyner 1975: 262, quoted by Coplan 2001: 113).

Tradition and creation feature in identity configurations because their combination symbolises antiquity in history (and the rights that may go with it, especially rights over territories), agency in the present world, and aptitude to strengthen the position of the group in the future. This is the reason why many identity entrepreneurs have turned musical traditions into legal or political evidence; why colonial authorities have attempted to manipulate chains of musical transmission to support the redefinition of the boundaries of subjugated groups and introduce differences between them, as well as between coloniser and colonised; and why dominated people have reconstructed musical traditions as emblems of pride and proof of their authentic identity. The redefinition of groups and their political reorientation lean on the re-organisation and re-signification of musical tradition; musicians and singers act as the voice of a community that is in the process of reinventing itself and identity entrepreneurs do not hesitate to look for the arguments they need in musicological studies (Coplan 1991: 37–38; Defrance 2007: 20; Laffranchini 2007: 142–143). Adjustments in musical traditions frequently imply changes in lyrics and language: new words are put to old melodies, and original lexicons or narrative structures underline musical innovations, as shown by rap in Senegal (Benga 2002), *mũgiithi* songs in Kenya (Maupeu & Wa-Mungai 2006) and *Voëlvry* rock in South Africa[20] (Hopkins 2006).

Music and space

Musicologists have created the notion of soundscape to emphasise that space is not only transformed and semiotised (Chivallon 2004a: 406) through human actions that affect its physical features, but also by the multiple layers and mixtures of sounds that can be heard in it. Indeed, soundscapes participate in the circumscription of particular territories within space and serve to identify them. They encapsulate the interaction between the physical characteristics of particular spaces – which determine the acoustics of a place – and the types of sound that can be produced and heard within it, and bring a sonic dimension to identity configurations. On the one hand, music participates in the construction of place (Stokes 1994: 3); on the other, music may be heard as a symbol, as "a sonic projection of territory" (Biddle & Knights 2007: 14).

Playing music and singing songs are a way of marking a territory, of drawing its boundaries and of claiming it: "our" place is indeed where "our" music can be heard. When people – colonisers, occupants, migrants – take possession of a place they install their music in it: salsa, for instance, has become the vibrant

landmark of latino territories in United States metropolises. In situations of acute hostility between groups, music even in its most rudimentary forms becomes an instrument of the dramatisation of space (Herman et al.: 1998: 7): in the early 1960s, supporters of "French" Algeria hooted in the streets of Algiers a sequence ta-ta-ta—ta—ta to evoke their slogan "*Algérie française*"; in Chile, opponents of Salvador Allende gave "pan concerts" in the thoroughfares of Santiago at the beginning of the 1970s; and, since the end of the 19th century, Hindu activists have marched through Muslim neighbourhoods singing songs in honour of Ganesh to signify that Islam was foreign to India and should be eradicated (Jaffrelot 2002).

Spaces can also be transformed in less aggressive ways: they can be quietly impregnated with particular types of music. Space is thereby imbued with specific local practices of making music that becomes emblematic of its "identity", since, with music, come forms of sociality, languages and modes of speaking, which altogether constitute local knowledges and local sensibilities liable to be "fictionalised" in narratives of space (Bennett 2000: 56–63). However, spaces musically transformed into territories are not necessarily homogeneous. They may accommodate several music "scenes" where various types of music are played to audiences differing in terms of age, gender, sexual orientation and social or geographical origins. In most cities, scenes are juxtaposed and although each of them possesses a core of faithful patrons, music lovers are free to pass from one to the other when they wish. In the Bastille neighbourhood of Paris, the Opera house, jazz clubs, Latin clubs, disco dance floors, etc., cohabit without problem amidst the hustle and bustle of very noisy streets. Elsewhere, competition takes the form of powerful flows of different genres bursting out of loudspeakers placed on the pavements. "Music, then, plays a significant part in the way that individuals author space, musical texts being creatively combined with local knowledges and sensibilities in ways that tell particular stories about the local, and impose collectively defined meanings and significance on space. At the same time, however, it is important to note that such authoring of space produces not one, but a series of competing local narratives" (Whiteley et al. 2004: 3). The musical topography of a place must therefore include not only music places – scenes in the physical sense of the word – but also the relative location of various scenes and possible itineraries linking them.

Cities and towns abound in musical scenes because their populations are mixed in origins, and also because they are usually more connected to the rest of the world. The complexities of surviving in an urban context, especially when it encompasses wide social inequalities, demand specific narratives and invite musicians to draw

from the resources of regions sending inhabitants to the city as well as from international sources made accessible by modern technologies of communication. In Djenné (Mali), each neighbourhood has its own music: music reveals who one is and where one comes from. Yet, there is overlapping, and every neighbourhood genre has borrowed from others. Music distinguishes but also preserves a potential for bringing together (Olivier 2004). Genres, such as *mũgiithi* songs in Nairobi, which are extremely local in appearance and attract an exclusively Gikuyu audience, bear traces of strong foreign influences (Mũtonya 2007). The delicate balance maintained between localism and cosmopolitanism permits catering for specific audiences without seeming too parochial, and thereby expressing aspirations to modernity in local languages. In particular, it enables us to address questions of gender relationships and values in original ways; Congolese rumba has illustrated this capacity for a long time (White 2008) and young musicians in Kampala have shown that they have now mastered it as well (Ssewakiryanga 2004).

Within diasporas or migrant communities, music may also represent the "mother" territory from which people have been separated. When the origin can be precisely located in a region, or even a village, as is often the case with Indian communities abroad, elements of the specific music of that place are integrated in the new forms that develop in exile. In Trinidad, chutney songs and dance music recycled rhythms and narrative structures which are typical of *bhojpuri* wedding songs performed in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh; in the 1980s, chutney mixed with soca, a modern form of calypso, to create chutney soca (Manuel 1997–1998; Martin 2002a). As generations go by, the image of the place of origin gets more and more blurred and the notion of homeland becomes problematic. Musical particularities of the mother region or village are more and more diluted into creole innovations. This is why, contends Peter Manuel, "What is important in the Indo-Caribbean diaspora is less a relationship with India itself than the relationship with and maintenance of a sort of Indianness. India has thus become more a state of mind than a specific locale" (Manuel 1997–1998: 31)[21].

Similarly, when the origin can only be located in the immensity of a culturally and linguistically diverse continent, as is the case for African diasporic communities, representations of the "country of before"[22] amalgamate a variety of images and sounds, some of which are actually creole and have been transmitted within slave, then emancipated communities, while others have been borrowed from the media and academic studies. Elements considered as more African in creole musics – Caribbean voice and drum genres, Guadeloupean *gwo-ka*, for instance – are frequently symbolised into representations of Africa. The case of reggae is particularly

interesting since it illustrates the possibility of a multi-layered mediation. Reggae took shape when drums and rhythms preserved in maroon communities – therefore construed as coming from Africa – were used to fertilise borrowed North American rhythm and blues and soul music (Martin 1982, 1992a). In Jamaica, then in the Caribbean and in second-level diasporic communities settled in Great Britain, in North America and in continental Europe, reggae came to signify Africa (Manuel 1997–1998:31; Gilroy 1991, 1993: 82), again "as a state of mind rather than a specific locale". Deterritorialised music continues to refer to a more or less fantasised place of origin, renders it alive in sounds and lyrics; what *sounds* like coming from the mother country, or continent, becomes inevitably mixed with elements from other musics but does not lose its capacity to identify the origin of the community as long as some of the components symbolising it are recognised both within and without the community (Mitchell 1996). Original blends which appear in diasporas mean to make audible a combination of "authenticity" and "modernity" and negate stereotypes of backwardness and inertia (El-Ghabdan 2005).

Music and nationalism

The commonplace conception of a nation is the aggregation of an imagined community, endowed with a common history from which stems a set of common values; a community characterised by specific cultural practices, especially by language, sometimes by religion, which has been living within circumscribed spaces for periods of time long enough to justify the occupation of a particular territory or claims to other territories it may have inhabited in the past. A nation is a political project that needs to be permanently reinvigorated by narratives in which history, memory, space and territory are collapsed (Anderson 1983; Breuilly 2009; Dieckhoff & Jaffrelot dir. 2006; Gellner 1983; Thiesse 1999). The emergence of nationalist movements in 19th century Europe has been translated in music through efforts to create "national musics" or to "nationalise" existent genres of music. This was done by composers like Antonin Dvořák, Edvard Grieg, Mikhail Glinka, Isaac Albeniz, among others, who "went back" to rural genres and integrated elements of peasant songs and dances in the forms of "art" music to create national compositions. In colonised territories the movement took a different turn because of the ambivalence generated by western "classical" music, frequently accepted as the epitome of civilisation, yet definitely foreign. To escape this predicament young musicians active in African cities in the 20th century turned their ears towards sounds coming from across the Atlantic. They adopted

African-American (in South Africa) or Cuban (in West and Central Africa) genres to manifest their will to participate in non-white modernities, which implied, more or less consciously, a desire to break the chains of colonialism (Shain 2002, 2009). Where local "art" music existed, as in India or China, nationalism induced a renewed interest in indigenous "classical" music, which was sometimes blended with more "folk" forms to generate creations in the pop domain (Bollywood in India) or the invention of new forms of official art (Chinese revolutionary opera).

Whether nationalism in music spurred the creation of new genres considered "artistic" or stimulated borrowing and innovation in pop music, what is striking in both cases is that musicians always relied on popular material to glorify their country. In instances where a particular genre was officially proclaimed the national music of the country, it always originated in the underprivileged strata of the population, be it samba in Brazil under Getúlio Vargas, calypso in Trinidad and Tobago under Eric Williams, or merengue in the Dominican Republic under Rafael Trujillo y Molina. There have been other occasions when a popular genre has not been officially elevated as national music but has been internationally recognised as such: tango in Argentina, rumba in Zaïre/DRC, morna in Cape Verde, fado in Portugal. And jazz, created by segregated African-Americans, has become widely perceived as the most "American" musical genre.

It appears that making music "national" requires the same mechanism as legitimising change by tradition. The proletariat, the underdog, is considered by the ruling classes and the intellectual elites uneducated and uncivilised. Paradoxically, just like peasants and "first people" are thought to be the keepers of unaltered traditions, the workers, be they rural or urban, appear to be possible providers of raw – in both meanings: crude and natural – but "authentic" material. Nationalism needs cultural elements that can mark its proclamations with a stamp of authenticity; the non-verbal dimension of music makes it a privileged means of bringing genuineness to "national" forms. This can be done in two, non-exclusive, ways: by transmuting elements of popular genres into "art" or by selecting one particular genre to become the sonic emblem of the "Nation". Brazil provides a good illustration of both mechanisms: Heitor Villa-Lobos synthesised in his *Choros*, among many other compositions, the "soul" of his country, by mixing the idiosyncrasies of Amerindian, black and white popular musics; samba, because it had been cast in the melting pot of Rio de Janeiro, the then capital, from various regional traditions and made crowds dance in the streets at carnival time, emerged as the popular genre that could best represent the country in the 20th century. However, samba had to be adjusted to its new status: its official version, exported

by internationally renowned artists such as the extravagant Carmen Miranda – who was actually a Portuguese citizen – was polished into *Samba Exaltação* (exaltation samba), which put forward the idealised image of a nation whose harmony in *mestiçagem* was unique (Vianna 1998).

Groups and their Music

However, music is not only related to large communities inscribed in history and rooted in a territory. It is also the medium of expression of groups defined by age, gender or social status which endeavour, through sounds and words, body languages and forms of sociability, to assert their singularity and to claim a certain position in society. The repertoires, styles and genres which are identifed, from the inside as well as from the outside, as the emanation of a particular group, contribute to categorising this group, for judgements passed on music by the "elites" very often coincide with attitudes towards the group this music comes from: to social hierarchies correspond musical hierarchies in which "art" music is always considered superior, even when it is not commercially as profitable as popular music. In addition to that, musical structures, the internal organisation of orchestras and styles of performance embody dominant hierarchical values (Waterman 1997; White 2008). Songs express social representations – about youth, women, social categories – and the assimilation of a representation with a song may become so indelible that humming a tune suffices to evoke representations attached to the words. In France, the melodies of Léo Ferré's "*Jolie môme*"[23] or Raymond Queneau's "*Si tu t'imagines*"[24] (performed by Juliette Gréco) immediately summon particular images of the woman. The variety of ties linking social groups to music makes it impossible to ascribe a type of music to a social group. Musical elements circulate, are adopted, transformed and re-signified in complex ways that contradict any idea of stability and permanence in the social meaning of music. Social meaning is always dependent upon the context in which the music is produced, and musical change is an index of social change.

Youth

The time when there were bodies of songs exclusively sung by certain categories of young people is now past and gone. Youth, from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the 20th century, was clearly delineated as an age of transition between infancy and adulthood which conferred upon those who were in this category privileges

and liberties which they would no longer enjoy later on. They were allowed, or took the right, to intervene in social events and functions to criticise prevailing orders, and expose individuals who behaved, in their eyes, incorrectly. This was the role of, among others, the "Youth Abbeys" (*Abbayes de jeunesse*), which had their own activities, but were also vigorous participants in carnivals. Students performed particular repertoires (medical students in some countries have preserved them to this day) and, since the examinations aiming at selecting young people fit to serve in the army played the role of a transition rite, conscripts celebrated in songs their admission into the defence forces, which they understood as their entry into male adulthood.

The advent of commercial pop music transformed youth music; it put musical taste – the capacity to choose within a range of musical products supplied by the entertainment industry – at the centre of the relationship between youth and music. Nicholas Cook, concurring with Daniel A. Yon and Crain Soudien, suggests that "[i]n today's world, deciding what music to listen to is a significant part of deciding and announcing to people not just who you 'want to be' […] but who you *are*" (Cook 1998: 5). Within youth subcultures, music constitutes one of the expressive languages through which young people endeavour to distinguish themselves from other, older, age groups, and from the ideas and codes of conduct elders defend, as well as from other juveniles. Rock was a watershed that signalled the emergence of youth as an autonomous social agent endowed with a buying capacity that had to be reckoned with. It soon gave birth to a multitude of styles and inspired new genres that became as many marks of distinction. Idolising the Rolling Stones rather than the Beatles, or, later, Bob Marley rather than Abba, was not only a question of musical taste, it also implied a particular attitude to society: rebelliousness or conformism.

Everywhere, music offers youth possibilities to rework the world in which they live in order to reposition, even temporarily, themselves within it (Ssewakiryanga 2004) by emphasising their "otherness" (Bennett 2000: 2–4). Rock in the 1950s and 1960s was the main musical language with which Euro-American youth could distinguish themselves from the rest. Urban dance musics which emerged in Africa in the 1940s and 1950s, not only bore testimony to the ambitions of urban youth but also hinted at their capacity to invent new cultural forms, liberated from the conservatism of "traditional" rural musics as well as from the domination of metropolitan genres, classical or popular (Benga 2002; Shain 2002, 2009). Reggae left Jamaica and travelled to places unconnected with Africa where it was nevertheless adopted as a sign of difference: in Vanuatu, indigenous youth,

disadvantaged compared to white kids whose music was rock, chose roots reggae, which they associated with oppressed blacks, to proclaim their presence and assert their rights (Stern 2007). Elsewhere, a decade or two later, rap was used to similar ends. In Japan, it embodied identification with a black Other, a form of radical rejection of the country's dominant identity (Condry 2000). In France, where lyrics in French rapidly became the norm, rap gained its independence from the American original and, at the beginning of the 21st century, encompassed several layers of identity: youth in general, suburban underprivileged youth, descendants of migrant workers from the Maghreb, sub-Saharan Africa and the West Indies found in it a medium through which they could vent not only their dissent, but all the nuances of their ambivalent relationship with French society and authorities (Bazin 1995; Boucher 1998; Marti 2005; Martin et al. 2010).

These examples show that youth use music not only to channel feelings of dissatisfaction or rebellion, but more broadly to negotiate their position vis-à-vis older categories of the population who exercise authority over them, which they do by identifying with other groups and by inventing new styles or genres that will appear as their own. Youth music can be transgressive in several ways, and it is also connective and integrative: indeed, trying to obtain a recognised place in society does not amount to breaking with it.

Women

Music is an intensely corporal art: it obviously sets the body in movement when it accompanies dancing, but one should not forget that both singing and playing an instrument mobilise the body in its entirety. Therefore if, "[a]s an object of discipline and liberation, the body is a site where a society's ideas about race, class, gender, and sexuality are constructed to give the appearance of being mandates of nature while conforming to cultural ideologies" (Hunter 2000: 160), music plays an important role as a stage where the social position of women is (dis)played. Repertoires which are the exclusive preserve of women indicate a separation in certain instances of social life which very often corresponds to a relegated status. Yet, it delineates a space where feminine creativity can blossom and express specific women's concerns which cannot be articulated anywhere else.

This is the case with wedding songs in which female sexuality is explicitly addressed, such as the ones heard during marriage ceremonies on the island of Lamu (Kenya) (Le Guennec-Coppens 1983: 127–132). Broadening the perspective, Guy Poitevin has shown that singing could in fact confer agency to subordinate

women. Studying the "songs of the grindmill" which *dalit* (untouchable) women of Maharashtra (India) sung to themselves in the early hours of the morning when they prepared the flour for the day's bread, he found that it granted them a "reflexive autonomy" which allowed them, through identification with the goddess Sita, to rehabilitate themselves in their own eyes in spite of the humiliations they had to endure from the men in their community and all those who belonged to "superior" castes (Poitevin 2002). The self-awareness acquired in singing this repertoire served as a sort of launching pad for militant movements aiming not only at *dalit* women's liberation, but more generally at the abolition of castes and untouchability. Grindmill songs were used, with adapted lyrics, to support the undertakings of Bhim Rao Ambedkar, the untouchable leader who penned the constitution of independent India (Poitevin 2009).

Music, especially vocal music, has been one of the rare fields open to female stardom. There were, and still are, societies where female singers and dancers are looked down upon and treated as prostitutes. Nowadays, in most countries, the excellence of women as singers, instrumentalists and composers is recognised, although it has taken a long time in western "classical" music as well as in jazz for women instrumentalists and composers to be totally accepted. In the field of pop music, women definitely occupy a central place. Music has been one of the avenues opened to women to access celebrity and wealth. It has provided a platform on which they could showcase feminine talents – that is demonstrate that women had talents, some of which were exclusively their own – and a pulpit from where they could articulate women's concerns and demands. One should not underestimate the extent to which the musical and entertainment industries have managed to associate female stardom with continued alienation, as illustrated by many pop, disco or rap video clips. However, female musicians often succeed in freeing themselves from macho representations. Queen Jane in Kenya, for example, embodies a modern woman who is known as a responsible entrepreneur, and displays respect for moral values in which "traditional" norms and Christian commandments are fused (Maupeu 2005). In France, the young rapper who adopted Diam's as a stage name negotiates astutely her status as *rapeur* (rappers of both sexes) in a milieu that remains extremely macho[25] but never puts her womanhood in the background; she tells openly of the hardships she had to go through as a girl, she proclaims her rights as a young woman, and advises her "sisters" as to how they should behave if they want to be respected (Martin et al. 2010). In the United States, the styles adopted by female rappers cover the whole gamut of women's representations from the grandeur of Queen Latifah to the frivolity of Missy Eliott (Woldu 2006). Women often find themselves in an

The street band movement, launched in the 2000s to enable underprivileged youth to play music, is now a regular feature of the *Kaapse Klopse Karnaval*, and of many street parades in the Cape.

ambiguous relationship to music: they can, and do, use music to project positive self-identities, yet music can still make them appear victims of disgraceful and humiliating prejudices.

Social groups

In the past, trades and guilds used to have their own repertoires of songs which they performed whenever they held functions or appeared in public: for instance when they participated in carnival marches. Workers whose task demanded that they coordinate their movements sang work songs which helped them to act as one. Sailors had their shanties and peasants lilted while ploughing or harvesting. Industrialisation and mechanisation made these repertoires meaningless; they were partly folklorised and remained as nostalgic evocations of a vanished era. Some songs were adapted to the conditions of the workshop, then also disappeared. Finally, trade unions and working-class parties created or adopted

songs which told of the workers' plight and aspirations. All these repertoires clearly identified those who sung them and sometimes became emblems of the group which performed them. But the relationship between music and social groups does not stop here.

As suggested above, music is an extremely powerful instrument of categorisation and distinction; it is a field "[…] in which dominant categories are enforced and resisted" (Stokes 1994: 8). The example of women in music confirms that music is used by rulers to propagate systems of classification and representation inherent to the dominant ideology, but also that it counts among the weapons which oppressed groups can use. Musical styles are usually associated with social groups: social stigma is attached by the ruling elites to styles, genres or repertoires performed and enjoyed in the popular classes (Manuel 1994; Pacini 1989). But stigmatisation can be turned into pride by subjects submitted to scorn and oppression, and traces of musical exchanges present in every style and genre ensure that, when need be, music can reappear as an emblem of sharing and brotherhood. Margaret J. Kartomi insisted that "[…] the total rejection by a culture of the music of another culture with which it is in long-term contact probably never occurs, even when it seems to succeed in doing so. Some degree of symbiotic interchange is bound to take place" (Kartomi 1981: 236). Culture should be understood here in its widest form; Margaret J. Kartomi made it clear that "[…] there is a strong likelihood that all musics are syntheses of more than one cultural (and, in some cases, class) influence" (Kartomi 1981: 230).

Examples of such exchanges and syntheses abound. Christopher A. Waterman's investigation into the history of "Corrina" is a magisterial description of the convoluted circulation of a song through black and white groups, and through social classes in the 20th century United States. A blues song, with fragrances of country and pop, first recorded by African-American singer and guitarist Armenter "Bo" Chatmon in 1928, it literally proliferated (to use Chris A. Waterman's phrase) afterwards in the "race" (i.e. black) as well as in the "hillbilly" (i.e. white) music markets. These two popular channels were reunited by Bob Dylan, who recorded "Corrina" in 1962 and introduced it in a repertoire no longer only aimed at black or white working classes. The triumph of a race-blind and class-blind "Corrina" came in 1994 when it was used as the theme song of a film given the eponymous title *Corrina, Corrina*[26]. The very history of the song made it an ideal vehicle for ambivalences and contradictions traversing race and class relations at the end of the 20th century: "Infused with a wistful sentimentality, a feeling tone evoked by the carefully chosen soundtrack of post-war (i.e. pre-rap) black music,

the film *Corrina, Corrina* discloses a complex articulation between music's role in destabilising dominant conceptions of racial difference and its implication in contemporary celebrations of the putative triumph of individual enlightenment over systemic patterns of racial inequality" (Waterman 2000: 194).

"Corrina"'s trajectories confirm that "[…] musical units are assemblages of elements from a variety of sources, each with a variety of histories and connotation-clusters, and these assemblages can, in appropriate circumstances be prised open, the elements re-articulated in different contexts" (Middleton 1985: 13). If national music can transmute proletarian genres into sonic icons of a country's identity as designed by political leaders, popular musicians have also shown that they can appropriate elements of "high brow" music in order to undermine the scorn inflicted on them by the ruling classes. In Trinidad, the steel drum was invented by astute *bricoleurs* belonging to underprivileged strata of the colonial society and living in the hills surrounding the capital, Port of Spain. Steel bands developed in these neighbourhoods and first appeared as the musical arm of bands of unruly young men who played local popular songs, calypsos, in the streets and never missed an occasion to exchange blows. Steel band players enlarged their repertoire[27], polished their playing techniques and soon adopted arrangements of famous western "classical" pieces (Dudley 2002; Stuempfle 1995). The steel drum, also called "pan", one of the few acoustical instruments invented in the 20th century[28], appeared in the eyes of nationalist leaders as the evidence of the autonomous creativity of the Trinidadian people and was turned into a national symbol, before being declared, in 1992, Trinidad and Tobago's national instrument. "The ability to render the classics credibly has thus been a critical factor in transforming pan's status from nuisance to national instrument" (Dudley 2002: 19).

Music and Politics

There is hardly a political meeting, a demonstration and, nowadays, a political clip that does not include music. Political movements and politicians use music as campaign hymns that identify them along with colours, portraits or mottoes. They can recycle existing songs or commission new ones. "We Shall Overcome", before becoming the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement was an old union song, and Barrack Obama's campaign tune "Yes We Can" was titled after the motto of the United Farm Workers, popularised by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta during the 1972 fast in Phoenix, Arizona[29]. There are more intriguing examples where an apparently totally apolitical song has been transformed into a political hymn.

When leftists demonstrators marched through the streets of Athens at the beginning of the 1960s, they used to sing the following words, taken from a song titled "Prepare Your Bed for Two" (Στρώσε το στρώμα σου για δυο)[30]: "The road is dark / until I meet you / When you appear in the middle of the road / I shall take you by the hand / Prepare your bed for two / for you and for me / So that we can embrace again / So that again everything may become alive". This sounds like a very ordinary love song. It includes allusions to renewal which suggest a connection between political change (the possible victory in the election of a reunited left, of a left which had found itself again) and the promise of a new life. Finally, this song was written by Mikis Theodorakis who was, at the time, one of the most flamboyant leaders of the Greek left. Its adoption as the marching tune of leftist demonstrators can be explained by several layers of symbolical meanings: the dual personality of the composer as a musician and a political leader, the symbolism of renewal present in the words, and the marching beat underlying the melody.

"Prepare Your Bed for Two" shows that the political power of attraction of a song lies both in its musical characteristics and in the understanding of its meaning based on the representation of the composer (sometimes the circumstances of its composition[31]) and on the symbolism of the lyrics. Such factors combine to give a song, but also a style or a genre, a capacity to move (in the two senses of the verb: to convey emotions and to set in motion) which is transferred to the movement, or the leaders that use them in their campaigns. This is why music serves as an instrument of mobilisation, which complements ideological discourses and programmatic proclamations and gives them a sentimental tinge. Music's political efficacy is increased by the fact that it manifests a being-together – immediate in the case of meetings and demonstrations; mediated by recordings in the case of discs or video clips – a feeling of belonging to a particular group that is conducive to stronger identifications with organisations and leaders.

Governments have tried to take advantage of the emotional power of music, not only to rally citizens behind them but also to project their particular conception of the history and identity of the country. Under General Metaxas, in Greece after 1936, media controlled by the authorities undertook to purge Greek popular music from any oriental influence that would deface the official image of Greece as a western country and the cradle of western civilisation (Bongrand, Martin & Yannopoulos 2001). Rulers, as we have seen above, select styles and genres to represent the country under a particular regime; they exercise censorship, forbid specified repertoires, styles and genres, and promote their own brand of national

or class music. From the Third Reich in Germany to contemporary Zimbabwe (Palmberg 2004), via Andrei Jdanov's Soviet Union and the Un-American Activities Committee of the United States' Congress, rulers have attempted to control musical production and to make it congruent with the conception of the nation they wanted to impose.

Music can also become a tool in the hands of opponents and rebels. Musical genres such as rock and rap have served to convey uneasiness about or the refusal of social set-ups that youth found conservative and oppressive. Reggae, in Jamaica, expressed a radical rejection of colonial alienation that grew into an international myth which made the genre a symbolic vehicle for opposition in many parts of the world. But no music possesses an intrinsic permanent political orientation; the same tunes can be put to different uses, and symbolic associations change. The rebelliousness of rock progressively waned when it was co-opted by the music industry; as its public grew older, it became more mainstream. Leaders of the French right today confess their inclination for Johnny Halliday, a pioneer of rock in France, now in his sixties. Yet rock, in some of its variants, has retained a limited ability to mark a distance from conformism, but it operates at both ends of the political spectrum: in Europe, one can find "national" rock groups advocating renewed fascist ideologies[32], as well as revolutionary ones.

Music clearly provides seminal material for the configuration of identities, and this is why pieces, styles and genres may become political stakes, but music's association with social groups or political organisations is never exclusive or immutable.

Creation

Musical creation is spurred by aesthetic concerns; musicians compose and invent new styles and genres because they want to create "something new", to rejuvenate musical languages, and make a name for themselves. But aesthetic ambitions are never independent from material circumstances, ideological pronouncements and political conditions. Similarly, there are correspondences between musical creation and identity configuration or reconfiguration: in ordinary processes of identity elaboration which permeate small events of daily life (Brubaker et al. 2006), music opens a field where interpretation, improvisation and innovation reveal identity as a contingent construction permanently reinvented by artists and their audiences, a field where new musics may signal the emergence of "new ethnicities" (Gilroy 1991: 117–118), and more generally new group consciousnesses.

Musical creation and group consciousness

Many instances of coincidence between the emergence of a social movement based on a renewed group consciousness and the invention of a new musical style can be found in the United States. Activists of the Civil Rights Movement recycled old spirituals and emphasised their emancipatory content; they also composed new songs based on the spiritual model. In so doing, they combined immediate demands for dignity and equality, rights and freedom, with musical repertoires reminiscent of their history in North America and their contribution to the making of the United States. On the popular music scene, soul music took over from blues as the music of young blacks, and conveyed a sense of autonomy in modernity that met their aspirations (Haralambos 1979). Then, when some black movements took a radical turn in the 1960s, a group of musicians, very few of whom actually participated in political or social organisations, initiated a stylistic break in jazz by abandoning harmonic and rhythmic structures that had prevailed since the beginning of the 20th century to venture into new territories of free improvisation (Jones 1968). Symbolically, free jazz was a rupture: a rupture from conventional forms that could be interpreted as a rupture from the present state of American society, and even a rupture from the West which brought to the foreground the specificity of an African-American culture rooted in Africa. A few musicians, and many commentators, elaborated upon the link between this musical "revolution" and the emergence of the Black Power Movement, even though a majority of those who played free jazz explained that they were primarily moved by aesthetic concerns or mystic considerations. The coincidences between soul music and the Civil Rights Movement, between free jazz and the Black Power Movement, show that when new identity configurations are taking shape, transformations also occur in the musical field; however, artists retain their independence and never limit themselves to supplying a soundtrack for political or social movements; instead, they relay general aspirations, original representations and new kinds of group consciousness in aesthetic forms that leave more room for the manifestation of ambivalences and contradictions than does ordinary speech (Martin 1970). This is why their relations with political organisations and political leaders are most often quite complicated.

Asserting a cultural identity, especially in music, is now one of the ways of backing claims to social and economic rights in the name of a particular group. When people have been uprooted, politically and economically marginalised, and separated from what they construed as the constituents of their identity, they have to reconstruct new groups to which they can identify, and within which they can

act together with other people sharing the same condition (Agier 2003). Music then serves both as a link that binds feelings of belonging and as a symbol of the group in the making or recently constituted. Champeta played such a role on the Caribbean coast of Colombia (Cunin 2006). In Australia, the amalgamation of an aboriginal pop music that transcended clan differences by fusing various "traditions" with gospel and country and western, meant to present a united front vis-à-vis the West and participated in the creation of a new aboriginal ethnicity whose representatives claimed the restitution of rights to space and the acknowledgement of their legitimate presence in Australian society (Magowan 1994). In Brazil, as has been hinted at already, the revival of almost forgotten musical and chorographic practices supported a movement of ethnic resurgence among descendants of slaves (Mattos 2003). Paradoxically, the invention of new music or the "rediscovery" of old repertoires hidden behind modern practices is put forward as evidence of ancient territorial occupation in endeavours – which emerge as a driving force behind the configuration of new, or renovated, identities – to obtain economic rights, especially land, social and political rights.

Appropriation

One paradox of the relationship between music and identity is that while identity configurations, which aim at giving an image of singularity and permanence, are based on choices among a great variety of possible attachments and identifications, as well as on the reorganisation of selected historical and cultural data, music is never absolutely "pure": whatever the boundaries assigned to a group, and the efforts to maintain a group in isolation, music can never be preserved from "foreign" influences (Kartomi 1981: 230, 236), and musical creation is driven, like all social phenomena, by the dialectics of inside and outside dynamics (Balandier 1971). Inside dynamics stem from the articulation of social, economic and political change with aesthetic explorations. Outside dynamics can derive from forces exercised by an external power, such as the depreciation of indigenous music relative to metropolitan "art" music in colonial situations; they can also result from choices internally made by musicians looking for new material to enrich or reinvigorate the styles and genres they play, or by people identifying with distant others by adopting elements of their music. As a matter of fact, internal preferences for external musics cannot be divorced from pressures coming from outside: internationalised pop music illustrates that fashions launched from Europe or North America by the music industry orient – but do not determine –

choices made by musicians whose ambition is to deliver new types of music likely to answer the needs of local audiences.

Musical creation amounts to inventing, on the basis of inheritance, mixtures and blends which are frequently the result of appropriation. Appropriation can be approached as a more or less deliberate strategy used in situations of cultural contact. It arises from acculturation, taken in its broadest meaning, that is as "[…] processes that occur when two cultures are in contact, and exercise on each other reciprocal influences" (Bastide 1998). Roger Bastide, following up on Meyer Fortes and Melville Herskovits, underlines that, when two or several cultures find themselves in contact, all are affected by the other(s), all undergo transformations because of the interactions that develop as a consequence of the contact. This implies that members of one culture can choose, among the characteristics of other cultures, practices and products that they perceive as meaningful and useful, practices and products that they can employ to achieve their own ends (Bastide 1967: 198). This type of borrowing has two implications: it does not bring about juxtapositions, patchworks of bits and pieces of cultures taken here and there, nor even syntheses of these. It induces, rather, the creation of new practices and products. Creation itself, then, necessitates not only a morphological transformation of what has been borrowed, but also a modification of the social meaning of the cultural practices and products which have been acquired.

The concept of appropriation was first fashioned in psychology and didactics. A child is socialised through her appropriation of features characterising other individuals, and her acquisition of knowledge relies on her appropriating the meaning of what she learns. Interiorising knowledge is a condition of being able to use it, and it is therefore a prerequisite for doing and acting. Paul Ricœur emphasises that appropriation is not limited to accumulating a capital of information and know-how, but that it endows the subject with an agency which is her own: the subject attributes to herself a capacity of initiative which creates the conditions for her intervention in social life, for making the decision to undertake what may bring about the realisation of her desires (Ricœur 1990: 109–136; 2000: 153–157). The agency conferred on the subject by appropriation is indeed emancipatory. Marxist theory considers that appropriation is liberation from alienation and can contribute to the restoration of a denied or injured humanity (Cotten 1982: 56–57). To summarise the debate on appropriation, Perla Serfaty-Garzon writes: "The objective of this type of possession is precisely to make something one's own, that is to adapt it to oneself and, in so doing, to transform it into a pillar of the expression of one's self. Appropriation is consequently both capture of an object

and application of a dynamics of action on the material and social world, with the intention of constructing the subject" (Serfaty-Garzon 2003: 27).

Appropriation adds to acculturation the notions of construction of the subject, emancipation, agency and initiative; it suggests a synergistic relationship between creation and change, underpinning the correlation between modifications in identity configurations and musical innovations. Appropriation in music consists in adopting, under external pressure or from deliberate will, elements taken from a culture considered different. These elements, coming from a variety of outside cultures and rarely from one only, are mixed with pre-existing indigenous forms (which, themselves, are never "pure") and it is this complex blend that provides the raw material for creation. Creation implies not only the rearrangement or the homogenisation of heterogeneous elements that have been thrown into the mix, but their transmutation into something that did not exist before. This process operates throughout the combination and transformation of musical characteristics. The blues form – which appeared in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century as the result of a formalisation of unstable folk forms by trained professional musicians, such as William Christopher Handy – shows how characteristics of European and African musics have been combined and transformed. Slaves of African origin, being dispersed on the North American territory so that they could not re-organise in their groups of origin, had to mix elements of their various original cultures in order to create a basis for regaining their humanness and forging new communities. Elements which were common or compatible in the diversity of African musical cultures progressively formed the weft in which, as a warp of sorts, elements taken from the masters' culture could be interlaced. In blues, the cyclical nature of most African musics provided a structure[33] for the most common chord progression found in European musics[34], but the chords themselves were altered by systematic inflexions[35] that in performance, then on printed scores, obliterated the western opposition between major and minor (Martin 1991, 2011).

The stabilisation of the blues was caused by attempts at creating, in writing, an original form grounded in black folk expressions, which would therefore sound undeniably African-American. Formalised blues could be printed in staff notation and copyrighted; they benefited from the prestige of sheet music, as opposed to orally circulated songs. Blues compositions were reproducible and provided a model according to which other tunes could be carved. Songsters and itinerant bards adopted it, but did not always stick to the formal twelve-bar frame and loosely followed the basic chord progression. Finally, the recording industry made

the blues into the quintessential genre of black music, the backbone of its "race" catalogues and convinced black folk musicians to forget about most of their non-blues repertoires when they entered the recording studios.

Re-signification

The blues, as we have known them, result from two main stages of morphological innovation. The first consisted in the combination of various temporal characteristics found in African musics with the European conception of chord progression; the second in the formalisation of an unstable and plastic type of orally transmitted song. Formalised blues retained the particular sound colours of the folk song and could therefore be identified, inside as well as outside African-American communities, as black. It became, with the help of the recording companies, the musical emblem of African-Americanness, then, when social conditions changed, evolved into several distinct styles. Blues are an excellent illustration of the pattern of appropriation identified by Nathalie Fernando: it consists in the reinterpretation, in the borrower's grammar, of the elements which have been borrowed, complemented with the imputation of new symbolic functions to the resulting type of music (Fernando 2007: 48). These symbolic functions relate to the identity of the group within which appropriation and creation have taken place: "[o]n a strictly musical level, appropriation can involve the active alteration, however subtle, of acquired styles, as competent imitation gives way to creative syncretism and further evolution. More importantly, however, appropriation is a socio-musical process, involving the re-signification of the borrowed idiom to serve as a symbol of a new social identity" (Manuel 1994: 274).

Creation and symbolisation, because they distinguish human beings from other animals, constitute the privileged mode of symbolically asserting humanness (Cassirer 1991)[36]. Appropriation from Others, who claim and are perceived to be human, creates a bond that confers humanness on those who are denied it or who are treated as inferior. But the symbolic function of creative appropriation does not stop there. Beyond humanness, it is incorporated, through re-signification, in the process of identity configuration. Re-signification changes the meaning of what has been appropriated: it is no longer a "foreign" element which has been borrowed, it becomes an integral component of the identity that is being configured even if it is at the price of simplifications and the distortion of historical and anthropological facts (Manuel 1994: 250). Examples of these reorganisations of meaning abound: Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights identify them in Central Europe and analyse the

mechanisms whereby foreign forms serve to produce nationalist repertoires (Biddle & Knights 2007); Moira Laffranchini shows how Chopi musicians have drawn from Zulu music and dance to create a style for *timbila* xylophones which is presented as a mark of cultural distinction and independence from neighbouring groups, the Zulu included (Laffranchini 2007); *musette*, for several decades the musical icon of Paris, appeared thanks to the encounter of Italian, Auvergnat[37] and Gypsy musicians.

In China, Sabine Trébinjac discovered that the famous French ditty "*Frère Jacques*" is known as an indigenous popular song; it has been sung during the 30 May 1925 movement, transformed into a national revolutionary song and totally assimilated in national repertoires. Appropriation has actually been a feature of Chinese culture for more than two millennia. In imperial China, Han military music was assembled by collecting songs in various regions of China, as well as outside its borders, rewriting them so that they could help coordinate the soldiers' movements, boost their morale and frighten the enemy. In this case, appropriation of a foreign music, especially when it came from an adversary, was a technique for acquiring the foreigner's strength; appropriating the music of a terrifying foe provided the material for developing a formidable weapon against him (Trébinjac 1997).

In colonial societies, appropriation took place in conditions of extreme inequality and violence. The gap between slaves and masters, colonised and colonisers was supposed to be unbridgeable. Yet it rapidly became evident that, in spite of divisions and brutality, exchanges were intense within what Georges Balandier theorised as a "colonial situation" in which the society of the colonisers and the society of the colonised were totally enmeshed; an ensemble within which colonisers and colonised interacted and continually readjusted their relations and respective positions (Balandier 1951). Slaves and colonised people had to invent new musics able to express their feelings about their conditions, their deportation to "strange lands" for the slaves, and the dispossession of their territories for the colonised. In most cases slaves had only faint memories of the musics of their motherlands[38], and they needed to bring together whatever remained and was musically compatible; colonised people, in territories where slavery was not instituted, could rely on "traditional" musics, but soon found that they no longer fitted within the new situation. Both were confronted with rulers who pretended to come from superior civilisations, and consequently enjoyed superior forms of music[39]. In order to invent new musics that could bear testimony to their humanness and appear as the collective creation of a subjugated group, they found in the colonisers' musics material loaded with symbolic power. René Depestre, the Haitian poet, coined the word "maroonage" to describe the indissolubility of

appropriation and creation: "The socio-cultural history of the dominated masses of the western hemisphere is globally a history of ideological maroonage which allowed them, not to re-interpret the sword-brandishing, cross-toting and whip-waving Europe through an alleged 'African mentality', but to exhibit an heroic creativity in order to elaborate painfully new modes of feeling, of thinking and of acting" (Depestre 1980: 99).

Alternative modernities

In appropriating – in "marooning" – musical elements, dominated people signified not only their humanness, but their capacity to emulate their rulers. Since the alleged backwardness of the colonised featured among the excuses used to justify colonisation, appropriating the coloniser's musical forms and expressive techniques amounted to displaying a subaltern presence in the modern world. This presence, however, could not be passive. Appropriation, as suggested above, results in the self-attribution of a capacity of initiative and agency. The affirmation of a subaltern presence in the modern world translated into the ability to act on the modern world and to fashion original, independent forms of modernity. Appropriation eventually delivered symbolic declarations of independence which became integral parts of the new identity configurations that emerged among subjugated peoples and were mobilised in struggles for civil rights or independence[40].

Colonisation opened new avenues for appropriation. It intensified communications not only between the metropolis and the colonies, but also between the colonies themselves. Philipinos and Cubans knew about each other's aspirations (Anderson 2005); West Africans moved around in French or British colonies, Africans met West Indians in Paris, London and Africa. There were of course musicians among those who travelled, especially on the occasion of world or colonial exhibitions. In addition to physical encounters between musicians from different colonies, recordings circulated and, in the first half of the 20th century, American musics became available in Africa, where they offered new sources of alternative modernities: innumerable crossings of the black Atlantic generated a proliferation of "countercultures of modernity" (Gilroy 1993). Two sources were particularly fertile: Cuba and the United States. Both were the cradle of original musics whose modernity was undisputable yet non-European. Cuban and American musics that reached Africa were received as the evidence that African-American people had culturally emancipated themselves from European domination and invented musics that were essentially black.

The forms of blues and jazz had a weak impact in Africa north of the Limpopo, but the word jazz was adopted as a symbol of modern original creation, and appeared in the names of many orchestras, from Guinea (Bembeya Jazz National) to the Congos (OK Jazz, African Jazz), from Senegal (Saint-Louisien Jazz, Sor Jazz) to Tanzania (NUTA Jazz, Atomic Jazz Band). Jazz certainly influenced Ethiopian musicians who designed the sounds of Swinging Addis in the 1960s and 1970s[41] (Falcetto 2002), and in Nigeria Fela Anikulapo Kuti drew inspiration from James Brown and John Coltrane (Bergman 1985: 58–73). It is, however, in South Africa that African-American musics of the United States exercised the strongest and most durable influence, as will be shown in the following chapters.

Cuba brought to West and Central Africa the foundation upon which new local musics could be built: "In the colonial world, Cuban dance music provided its international audiences with a musical style that lacked direct association with imperialist metropolis, and that could become a potent symbol of identity for modernising urban societies. In Africa, Cuban music constituted a significant step in the re-Africanisation of professional urban dance music" (Manuel 1994: 251). Cuban music provided an alternative that allowed young urban musicians to emancipate themselves from rural "traditional" musics as well as to escape the hegemony of the coloniser's culture. It became a tool for forging a modern cultural identity which would eventually come back to its African roots. Cuban music entered Senegal in the 1930s, it could be heard on the local radio in 1939 and grew extremely popular in the 1940s and 1950s. In the decade preceding independence, the most popular bands in Dakar were formed by musicians from different regions who played Cuban music, singing words in Spanish which most of them could not understand. However, the imitation of Cuban genres was just one step towards the elaboration of an African modern urban music. In the 1970s, bands like Orchestre Baobab began to reintroduce Senegalese instruments and musical techniques from various regions of the country. Eventually *mbalax* emerged from these experimentations and brought back to the foreground rhythmic patterns, vocal timbres and melodic turns which were borrowed from various rural genres and sounded undeniably Senegalese (Shain 2002). In the two Congos, the evolution of urban music in the 20th century was similar. Rumba became the generic name by which Congolese music was known, although bands did not stick to that particular style. Joseph "Grand Kalle" Kabasele and his African Jazz embodied the break with "traditional" music in the 1950s. Seigneur Rochereau[42] and Franco began to recycle African elements in the 1960s and 1970s; eventually Congolese dance orchestras of the 1980s and 1990s, although they rarely included

African instruments, reinstated the primacy of polyrhythms through the intense interlacing of several electric guitars, and their particular positioning vis-à-vis figures drummed on the percussions (Mazzoleni 2008: 125–143; White 2008).

Ambivalences and contradictions

Identification through music, however, is never totally straightforward. Since music, in its narrow meaning as an organisation of sounds, does not function as a language and does not assemble signs endowed with arbitrary signification, it is a symbolic form. "Musical symbolism is *polysemic* because when we listen to music, the meanings it takes on, the emotions that it evokes, are multiple, varied, and confused. These meanings, these emotions are the object of an interpretation that is always *hazardous*" (Nattiez 1990: 37; emphasis in the original). Musical meaning is not intrinsic to music, it results from assignments coming from a variety of agents. "Meaning […] is the *constructive* assignment of a web of interpretants to a particular *form*; i.e., meaning is constructed by that assignment. The assignment is made by a producer (in many cases), or by a 'receiver' or 'receivers', or by both producer and 'receiver(s)', but it is never guaranteed that the webs of interpretants will be the same for each and every person involved in the process" (Nattiez 1990: 11; emphasis in the original). It ensues that music, contrary to verbal language, can convey in the same movement contradictions and ambivalences, that the meanings it is assigned can change over time, and that the delicate balances of attraction and repulsion that underpin contradictions and ambivalences also vary according to the conditions in which the music is produced and received.

"In many circumstances," writes ethnomusicologist Gerhard Kubik, "culture contact develops into relationships of ambivalence" (Kubik 1994: 24). Music is the privileged medium for conveying such ambivalence, and musical appropriation is one of the mechanisms that contribute to managing ambivalences. When it is possible to conduct a parametric analysis on music, it generally appears that the type or the degree of appropriation may vary according to parameters; then there may also be discordances between the music, in the narrow sense, and the lyrics. Reggae provides an illuminating example of the complexities and contradictions of identification through musical appropriation and creation. Reggae appeared in 1960s Jamaica as a symbolic rupture from American models, at a time when renewed political ideologies were meant to deliver a new, genuine independence to the country. Reggae developed, via ska and rock steady, from JA(maican) blues, deeply influenced by North American rhythm and blues and soul music,

but broke with these styles to introduce a genre that could be interpreted, both inside and outside the island, as authentically Jamaican. Although the majority of reggae lyrics retained the love-song model, some artists, followers of the Rastafarian faith, channelled their hostility to "Babylon" (at the centre of which was the United States) through reggae and, since they became extremely popular and internationally famous, reggae was rapidly assimilated with rebellion against imperialist, capitalist powers, incarnated in the United States. Yet, if reggae distinguished itself markedly from American music by its particular rhythm and, to a lesser extent, by the use of specific vocal timbres, all that pertained to harmony remained close to American models, and melodies were frequently patterned after American tunes, to the extent that quite a number of "Rastafarian" songs were simply American gospel songs whose words had been slightly modified. Contrary to many other interpretations of reggae that have been suggested, it did not signify a blunt rejection of and antagonism towards the United States, but delineated a field within which identification with the United States and an assertion of Jamaicanness could coexist in unstable combinations. It therefore supported interpretations in terms of rebelliousness, independence and solidarity with the world anti-imperialist forces, as well as in terms of conformism and adhesion to American cultural models (Martin 1982, 1992a). This is why, in Jamaica itself, reggae has been used during electoral campaigns by both the conservative Jamaica Labour Party and the progressist People's National Party (Waters 1985). In Haïti Gage Averill unravelled a similar combination of identification with American modernity and opposition to United States imperialism (Averill 1997). And, coming back to Senegal, Richard M. Shain concluded: "The history of Afro-Cuban music in Senegal also illustrates that hybrid cultural forms are dialogic, not syncretic. In the development of such forms, contrasting cultural elements do not synthesize or cancel each other out; rather, they coexist in dynamic relief" (Shain 2002: 101).

Music as a "social revealer"

Music's ability to convey ambivalences and contradictions makes it a sensitive indicator of social change. The complexity and plasticity of musical assemblages give musicians living in transforming societies the possibility to imagine new forms attuned to what happens in the society at large. Original musical forms do not "reflect" new social organisations; rather, structural alterations brought to existing genres and the invention of new genres symbolically signal that processes of social transformation are under way. In this perspective, music appears as one

of the "social revealers" that bring to the surface changes which are in the making but not yet mature enough to upset the foundations on which the present state of society rests. George Balandier defined social revealers as phenomena which "[…] detect the flows of change under the dead waters of continuity" (Balandier 1971: 86). Considering music as a "social revealer" demystifies Jacques Attali's obscure theory of music as "prophesy" (Attali 1977: 8) and concurs with the findings of David B. Coplan, who underlines the particular relationship existing between emerging values and performing arts in South African black urban music: "It is in the representation and enactment of emerging systems of value and meaning that performing arts have participated in power relations […]" (Coplan 2008: 406).

Today, popular music is one of the most fertile of the "social revealers" suggested by George Balandier. Because it keeps transforming, because it is generous in innovations and permanently adopts, and transforms, equipment and techniques for producing and reproducing sound, popular music is attuned to social change, including changes in morals, and makes itself felt in more or less direct ways. Popular music may even play a key role in processes of change: because it relays some of the ideas, representations and values that fuel them and puts them in an aesthetic form, it contributes to their spreading, to extending their influence. In return, the intensified penetration of these ideas, representations and values among a larger public may affect the very process of which they are part.

Popular songs consist of an entanglement of sounds – themselves resulting from the interaction of various parameters relative to time, pitch, relations between pitches, and timbre – and words; their performance on stage and in sophisticated video clips adds visual elements, linked to particular body languages, to their communicative capacity. This multivalence allows popular music to convey what most other art forms or aesthetic languages cannot: ambivalences and contradictions (Bohlman 1997: 72). This is one of the reasons why popular music can make sensible processes of change which are still immature, filled with hesitation, indecision, uncertainty and doubt regarding morals, social order and the shape of a fuzzily wished for society (Martin 2006a).

* * *

This introductory chapter has attempted to show how music participates in identity configuration, both by contributing to the construction of identities and by providing a medium for expressing them in their infinite complexities. Music symbolically deals with memory, space and culture, which figure prominently in

any identity configuration. Moreover, musical creation is related both to inheritance and appropriation; it therefore establishes in an aesthetic language saturated with affectivity a strong link between the definition of the in-group and representations of out-groups. Musical creativity constitutes one of the indices of social agency and is able to symbolise initiatives undertaken to modify the position of a group in society as well as to transform the group's identity configuration. However, musical meaning being symbolical – and consequently polysemic – it is not inscribed in the intrinsic characteristics of music, but is assigned through dialogic processes involving, in particular circumstances, producers and receivers. The polysemy and mobility of musical meaning opens the possibility of multiple interpretations. At the same time, the symbolic dimension of music allows meaning to accommodate ambivalences and contradictions better than most other media of expression.

Music inspires competing identity narratives. Despite the fact that music always results from contacts, exchanges and blending, identity narratives put the stress on one origin rather than others, select certain characteristics rather than others in order to project an image of purity and authenticity. Music does generate exclusivist, chauvinistic or nationalistic narratives which, by differentiating "our" music from "their" music, aims to create an inalterable, allegedly indisputable, specificity. Yet, the mixed origins of all musics ensures that music preserves traces of encounters and sharing that may remain forgotten for long periods of time, that may be obliterated by exclusivist ideologies, but can be retrieved from oblivion. Music can then inspire new narratives of reconciliation suggesting a reunion of people who have been separated. In such a perspective, the potential of musical traces for *recognising* can be actualised as part of a project of identity reconfiguration aiming at creating the conditions of a new living-together. Research in the social sciences has the capacity to contribute to such a project, but this implies that it "[…] should concentrate on musical categories or elements which, within the articulative process, migrate from genre to genre, from tradition to tradition, assuming new positions in different patterns, taking on varied meanings" (Middleton 1985: 13). Research should, in other words, focus on processes of blending that have taken place at various times by perusing historical documents (written texts, pictures of various types, sound and image recordings) and by looking for traces of past mixing in contemporary musical products. It should also analyse different discourses on music that position it in identity configurations. This is indeed a very ambitious programme that a lone investigator cannot complete satisfactorily. I shall therefore limit myself to using it as a guideline which will inspire the following chapters, beginning with an attempt at retelling the history of Cape Town's music in the light of creolisation.

Notes

1. For a history of the uses of "identity" in the social sciences, see: Gleason 1983 and Halpern 2004.
2. Although it does not pretend to provide an exhaustive bibliography on the subject, the References section at the end of this volume will give the reader an idea of the number and variety of publications dealing with "music and identity".
3. In this section, I will draw largely on the collective reflection undertaken within the group "*Identités, pouvoirs, identifications*", composed of researchers attached to the French National Foundation for Political Sciences, which met from January 2005 to November 2008 and produced the volume: *L'identité en jeux, pouvoirs, identifications, mobilisations* which includes an extensive bibliography on identity in the social sciences (Martin ed. 2010).
4. Although I have attempted, in the References section, to give references to the English translations – when they are available – of works in French cited or quoted in this volume, all references are to the original French editions, and quotations are, unless indicated otherwise, in my own translation.
5. In Brazil, traces of cultural practices found in particular spaces have been used as evidence of ancient occupation by groups trying to benefit from land reallocation policies (Mattos 2003).
6. By Pierre Degeyter (music, 1888) and Eugène Pottier (words, 1871).
7. The mosaic of parameters is materialised in: Fernando 2007, diagram 1, page 42.
8. In terms of: scale, melodic contour, metre, rhythmic patterns and timbre.
9. What is considered as "music" varies from society to society and is of course socially and culturally coded.
10. In this case, "social circumstances" can mean actual performance, when musicians and listeners are present in the same place, at the same time, but also relationships established via recordings which are sold directly to listeners or circulated through radio or television waves and the internet.
11. One should distinguish between musical categories produced by musicologists and based on systemic musical analysis, and labels commonly used by listeners and very often launched or taken over by the music industry. For the sake of simplicity, "musical category" will be used here in the second acceptation only.
12. In the 1970s, Pierre Bourdieu considered "classical" music to be one of the strongest "classifying" objects (Bourdieu 1979: 17–18).
13. Not without a few difficulties, since black and white genres and repertoires overlapped: white musicians (like Jimmie Rogers, who even recorded with Louis Armstrong) played blues, categorised as "black". Black songsters at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries had a wide repertoire which was in no way limited to blues; the introduction of racial categorisation in music, particularly the creation of "race" (i.e. "black") catalogues by the recording industry, compelled them to restrict their repertoire to blues. Later in the 20th century, some black musicians continued playing "country music", categorised as "white", a few of them being allowed to appear on the stage of the temple of this style, Nashville's Grand Ole Opry. Ray Charles himself, who played as a young pianist in country and western orchestras, had an inclination for this music but had to fight with the company he recorded for when he decided to dedicate a whole LP to country songs. White musicians (from Bix Beiderbecke to Charlie Haden) have also played a significant part in the evolution of jazz.
14. That is, orally transmitted from generation to generation during a certain period of time.

15. She could even have heard it in Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt, where it is also known, since it probably travelled across all regions of the Ottoman Empire.
16. To paraphrase Maurice Halbwachs who wrote about "the social frames of memory" (Halbwachs 1994). In English, see: *The Collective Memory*, translated from the French by Francis J. Ditter Jnr and Vida Yazdi Ditter, New York, Harper and Row, 1980, and *On Collective Memory*, edited, translated and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992.
17. This idea derives from Gaston Bachelard's conceptualisation of time as a concatenation of moments which have no duration (Bachelard 1966: 20).
18. In western "classical" music, the notion of *rubato*, of "stolen time", conveys admirably these feelings.
19. One can find many instances of the idealisation of "traditional" cultures in discourses about World Music (Arom & Martin 2006).
20. "What made them [artists participating in the *Voëlvry* movement] unique, however, was that, within the anger, satire and withering contempt for the establishment, was a vision for a liberated language – Afrikaans as cool, as opposed to being the tongue of the oppressor" (Hopkins 2006: 142).
21. Similar evolutions in Mauritius are minutely described in: Servan-Schreiber 2010 and 2011.
22. What Édouard Glissant calls "*le pays d'avant*" (the country of before) or "*le passé d'au-delà des eaux*" (the past from beyond the waters) (Glissant 1997d).
23. Léo Ferré (music and words), 1960.
24. Joseph Kosma (music), Raymond Queneau (words), 1949.
25. Which implies rapping *comme un mec* (like a tough guy), using a lot of profanity and slang, especially during "clashes" (rhyming battles).
26. Directed by Jessie Nelson, starring Whoopie Goldberg and Ray Liotta, © New Line Productions, 1994.
27. The will to broaden the steel bands' repertoire was actually symbolically announced on the very first day steel drums appeared in the streets of Port of Spain, on V-E (Victory in Europe) Day 1945: "God Save the King" and "Mary Had a Little Lamb" were among the tunes played on that occasion.
28. Trinidadians boast that it is the only instrument invented in the 20th century, which does not take into account electronic instruments and forgets a few original acoustic sound-making devices used in "contemporary" western music, such as Lasry and Baschet "sound structures" (see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baschet_Brothers).
29. The song was released on the internet by will.i.am, of the rap group Black Eyed Peas, and was covered by many singers in the United States, and in other countries.
30. Tatiana Yannopoulos, personal communication.
31. In France, "*Le temps des cerises*", which also suggests the idea of renewal, is associated with the *Commune de Paris*, the Parisian revolution of 1871 – although it was composed earlier, in 1866, by Jean-Baptises Clément (words) and Antoine Renard (music). Because of this association, it remains a favourite song with activists of the left.
32. See, for instance, *Rocking the Nation* (*Dübörög a Nemzeti Rock*), a documentary film directed by Balázs Wizner, Budapest © Metaforum Film, 2007; I wish to thank Dr Antonela Capelle-Pogăcean, who made it possible for me to watch this film.
33. Twelve bars, in an AAB form: the first two four bar phrases are usually identical or nearly identical, while the third differs and in a way "answers" the first two.
34. I, IV, V, or tonic, sub-dominant, dominant.

35. Generally referred to as "blue notes", consisting in joining in glissando, or playing in extremely rapid succession, the flatted note and the natural note. This technique is generally used on the third and seventh degrees, sometimes the fifth, of a diatonic scale. In C, for instance, the player will glide from E^b to E, and B^b to B.
36. In English, see: *Symbol, Myth, and Culture: Essays and Lectures of Ernst Cassirer, 1935–1945*, edited by Donald Phillip Verene, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1979.
37. Augernats are natives from Auvergne, the central mountains of France; *musette* was originally the name of a type of bagpipe specific to this region, which was replaced in Parisian *musette* music with the accordion, brought by Italian migrants.
38. Although the possibility to retain elements of original musics varied from region to region: it was clearly greater in South America and in the West Indies than in North America or in South Africa.
39. Although within the global superiority of European culture, hierarchies still existed; popular musics were not put on the same level with "art" or "court" music. However, to slaves or colonised people who were more likely to find themselves in places where they could hear European popular or parlour music, all musics coming from the colonisers were coated in the general superiority of European cultural productions.
40. Indeed, in February 1960, while the independence of Belgian Congo was being negotiated at a Round Table Conference in Brussels, Grand Kalle and his African Jazz recorded the famous "*Indépendence Cha Cha*".
41. Soul replacing jazz as the reference to America: one the most popular bands of the time called themselves The Soul Echos.
42. Who, later, abiding by the policy of "authenticity" imposed by Mobutu Sese Seko, adopted the name Tabu Ley.

CHAPTER TWO

Cape Town's Musics: A Legacy of Creolisation

The history of Cape Town's musics has been underpinned by a long process of creolisation, which probably began as soon as Vasco da Gama set foot on the shore of what is today known as Mossel Bay, on 2 December 1497. His party was entertained by a group of Khoikhoi musicians using the hocket technique on their flutes, which had been extremely popular among European composers, such as Guillaume de Machaut, at the end of the Middle Ages, and is widespread in Africa. Vasco da Gama's diarist recorded that the Khoikhoi musicians "[…] began to play upon four or five flutes, some of which were high and some low, so well in fact that they played harmoniously indeed, quite surprising for negroes, from whom one expects little in the way of music, and they danced in the negro fashion […]"[1]. Vasco da Gama responded to this resounding welcome with dance music executed on trumpets (Kirby 1937: 25). Later, when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) developed a permanent settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, the first Commander of the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, is said to have regaled a Hottentot chief with a concert of the harpsichord (Kirby 1937: 26). These little incidents show that the first encounters between Europeans and people living at the southern tip of Africa were almost always accompanied with music and that, on both sides, the sounds heard on these occasions, however strange they may have appeared, aroused interest, and even possibly pleasure, among the listeners. Musical exchanges proceeded from these early encounters and nurtured dynamics of creolisation that were to stimulate the development of South African musics until today. In order to better understand how processes of creolisation fashioned South African musics in general, and Cape Town's musics more specifically, it seems necessary to give an overview of creolisation theories and examine their relevance to South Africa and South African music.

The Meanings of Creolisation[2]

Historian Robert C.-H. Shell was probably one of the first scholars to suggest, in 1994, that South African history could be interpreted in terms of creolisation. Chapter 2 of his *Children of Bondage* is dedicated to "The Cape slave trade and creolisation". In this chapter, he starts by using "creole" and "creolisation" in the traditional sense of the words, related to the growing number of slaves born at the Cape. However, he immediately emphasises that, within the framework of slavery, contacts between bearers of European cultures (who, in some cases had themselves been partly "creolised" in Batavia) and slave bearers of many varied non-European cultures, created the conditions from which a creolisation process could unfold: "From these imported and local cultures arose the imperfectly understood but richly textured, syncretistic, domestic creole culture of the Cape" (Shell 1994: 40). And at the very end of his book, he writes: "Cape slavery had another legacy […] the as yet unexamined creole culture of South Africa, with its new cuisine, its new architecture, its new music, its melodious, forthright, and poetic language, Afrikaans, first expressed in the Arabic script of the slaves' religion and written literature" (Shell 1994: 415).

The South African debate

Following up on Robert C.-H. Shell's recommendation, and based on research undertaken by David B. Coplan (Coplan 1985) and Veit Erlmann (Erlmann 1991), I found in the history of Cape Town's New Year festivals confirmation that a creole culture grew and blossomed in South Africa (Martin 1999). Sarah Nuttal and Cheryl-Ann Michael propose in a more general way to adopt creolisation to analyse culture-making in South Africa, and emphasise "transformative fusions", with connotations of multiculturalism and hybridity. Referring to Martiniquean writer Édouard Glissant, they explain: "Post-colonial readings of culture have tended to focus on difference – but more complex studies of affinities and how they are made are now needed, particularly in South Africa. The theoretical possibilities of the term 'creolisation' need to be drawn on not to bring about erasure – an erasing of difference – but to underwrite a complex process of making connections" (Nuttal & Michael 2000: 10).

Drawing from the same collection of essays by Édouard Glissant, Zimitri Erasmus, uses creolisation in her analysis of coloured identities "[…] to refer to cultural creativity under conditions of marginality […]". She therefore underlines

the agency of the oppressed, and very clearly posits "[…] at the heart of this particular process of creolisation […] a colonial racial hierarchy […]" (Erasmus 2001: 16). At the dawn of the 21st century, however, it seems to her that an emergent discourse of African essentialism "[…] denies creolisation and hybridity as constitutive of African experiences" (ibid.: 20).

Herman Wasserman and Sean Jacobs do not grant creolisation the same heuristic potential as their fellow South African scholars. They are worried by the elaboration of myths about creolisation, hybridity and *métissage* that tend to describe them as smooth and gentle transactions generating societies harmonious in their plurality, where people can revel in their diversity. Creolisation, they insist, "[…] does not take place in a space devoid of power struggles, nor does it signify a complete break with the past" (Wasserman & Jacobs 2003: 16).

If the works cited above can be considered representative of the discussion generated by the introduction of the concept of creolisation in debates about South African society in general, and the making, re-making and perpetuation of identities in particular, it seems that most authors – while differing on what creolisation is likely to unveil of the past and on how it can help to shape the future – associate with it connections (relationships that do not obliterate differences), and creativity, but within a context of oppression and power struggles. Many of them refer to Édouard Glissant, but rely mostly on a volume that represents more the point of departure of his reflection than the conclusions he later reached. For, although *Caribbean Discourse* (Glissant 1989) does introduce the concepts of Relation and the Diverse (*le Divers*), it does not yet deal much with creolisation, a topic Édouard Glissant would elaborate upon in more recent works such as*: Poetics of Relation* (Glissant 1997b), *Traité du Tout-Monde* (Glissant 1997c), and *La cohée du Lamentin* (Glissant 2005). Before assessing the possible fecundity of Édouard Glissant's theory of creolisation in relationship to South Africa, it is probably necessary to revisit a few earlier works in which South American and West Indian authors put forward ideas about creolisation, derived from the experiences of their native countries, and suggesting new understandings of their histories.

Rehabilitation of colour and the romanticism of *mestiçagem*

Brazil offers the example of a country where doctrines of white supremacy were replaced by what Hermano Vianna calls a "*mestiço* nationalism"[3] (Vianna 1998: xv). In the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, "race mixing", understood as a factor of degeneration, tended to be generally considered as the main cause

of Brazil's problems. Brazilian intellectuals oscillated between the adoption of deterministic models asserting the existence of innate human differences, therefore considering *mestiçagem* as a menace, and an apology of cross-breeding that did not preclude the acknowledgement of racial differences (Schwarcz 1993). Prevailing racialist conceptions were first challenged by Oswald de Andrade in his manifesto for a Brazilianist poetry known as *Manifesto Pau-Brazil* (De Andrade 1924), then in his *Manifesto Antropofágico* (1972 [1928])[4], and later by Mário de Andrade, in his *Ensaio Sôbre a Música Brasileira* (*Essay on Brazilian Music*) (1943, 1972). Eventually, Gilberto Freyre's culturalist theses reversed the dominant perspectives on *mestiçagem*, without, though, totally erasing previous ideas about race (Schwarcz 1993: 247–250). In 1933, his *Casa Grande e Senzala (The Masters and the Slaves)* (Freyre 1974, 1986) appeared as a real watershed because he systematically examined the history of Brazil in the light of interactions between "big houses" and slaves' quarters, and argued that the Portuguese, who were already a *mestiço* people, were particularly inclined to adopt a tropical way of life, to adhere to indigenous value systems, and to live with local women (Freyre 1952: 8). From early intercourses developed a hybrid and harmonious society where cultural exchanges were almost equal (Freyre 1974: 96–97). Consequently, modern Brazilians are all, in one way or another, *mestiços* (Freyre 1952: 8). Gilberto Freyre's reinterpretation of Brazil's past involved a rehabilitation of colour: "A valorisation from a sociological, and not only an aesthetic or sensual, point of view, that acknowledges, by way of comparative studies in the sociology of culture, the fact that yellow, brown, red, or black people are bearers of values which are superior, and not inferior, to the values of white or European people" (Freyre 1952: 7).

As a matter of fact, Gilberto Freyre proposed a new founding myth for 20th century Brazil, a "[…] Brazilian philosophy of ethnic and social fusion […] intended to promote the formation of a new state of collective conscience […]"[5]. His *mestiço* nationalism was indeed exploited by Getúlio Vargas' populist and authoritarian *Estado Novo*, but survived it and for decades continued to provide the fundamental representation of Brazilian society. Indeed, he idealised and romanticised relations between masters and slaves, between people of various skin colours; he postulated an absence of violence in *mestiçagem* processes, thanks to a Portuguese paternalism that made it easier to cope with "[…] one of the most inferior people of the continent […]", the Amerindians, and Africans who had a mentality different from Europeans', even though sometimes superior to them (Freyre 1974: 94; 262; 278; 289). Softening history to make *mestiçagem* not only a feature of Brazil as a whole, but an asset and a source of pride, Gilberto Freyre's

ideas created a field where an internal perception of the country as the producer of an original form of modernity could grow, "[…] a modernity that incorporated the very cultural elements long considered the causes, or at least the symptoms, of that backwardness" (Vianna 1998: 116).

Gilberto Freyre's romantic rewriting of Brazilian history underpinned the emergence of new social representations and new political ideologies. It could not, by itself, totally upset social hierarchies. It did not put an end to white supremacy, except in official discourse (Vianna 1998: xv). It did not dismantle the inequitable system keeping most dark-skinned people at the bottom of the social ladder, nor did it abolish colour prejudices. The vision of a harmonious Brazil where all citizens had the same chances, whatever their origin and the colour of their skin, was eventually eroded when proponents of Afro-nationalism opposed *mestiço* nationalism, and stressed not the beauty of *mestiçagem*, but pride in African origins. Brazil demonstrates that a rehabilitation of human and cultural blending, if it is not tied to effective policies of social redress aimed at abolishing, or at least at diminishing inequalities, does not suffice to eradicate past antagonisms between stratified and opposed groups (Agier 2000).

Métissage, hybridity and interstices, the dead ends of post-modernity

Historians of the Americas have recently investigated actual processes of *métissage*, as can be reconstituted from texts and various artefacts. They shed new light on the mechanisms whereby "amazing creations" were produced, giving a particular shape to each of the conquered societies as well as strongly influencing colonial metropolises. These studies also highlight the brutal context in which the process unfolded. The conquest of the Americas, and of the West Indies, by European powers, fuelled a new type of *métissage*. It started with a confrontation of concepts and norms (Gruzinski 1999), and must be understood as a political phenomenon, originating in colonial violence (Turgeon 2003).

Thus a new world developed after the conquest of the Americas, an inequitable world nurtured by slave trades, and based on colonisation or domination. Successive hegemonic systems covered the globe, decimating people and destroying civilisations. Yet, in this pandemonium of barbarity and racism, new cultures were invented, providing the basis for new aesthetic forms, and new types of societies that were to influence every human practice and every kind of social organisation, from popular music to states. The challenge confronting the social sciences, history and political sociology in particular, is therefore to devise conceptual tools

able to account for *both* the violence and the creativity which have supported the formation of the world we now live in, the so-called modern world, hoping that they also could contribute to imagining a better "post-modern" one. It is clearly from this angle that theories of hybridity must be approached.

Paul Gilroy proclaims "the unashamedly hybrid character" of "black Atlantic cultures" (Gilroy 1993: 99). He emphasises their "syncretic complexity" (ibid.: 101), and, in the conclusion of his celebrated essay, suggests that mutation, hybridity and intermixture can help construct "[…] better theories of racism and black political culture than those so far offered by cultural absolutists of various phenotypical hues". The more so, since: "The history of blacks in the West and the social movements that have affirmed and rewritten that history can provide a lesson which is not restricted to blacks" (Gilroy 1993: 223). Specifically referring to Afro-Caribbean peoples, Stuart Hall also uses hybridity to characterise their "diaspora experience", an "[…] experience which is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*" (Hall 1994: 402; italics in the original). Homi Bhabha looks back and finds that cultural hybridities "[…] emerge in moments of historical transformation". They occur in "interstitial passages", in "borderline conditions", expand into "hybrid cultural spaces" to accommodate differences without hierarchy (Bhabha 1994: 3; 5; 9; 11).

Homi Bhabha's overuse of spatial metaphors (space, in-between, interstices, borders) reveals one of the main contradictions of post-modernist theoreticians. They expose and condemn conceptions of culture as pure, homogeneous, stable and authentic entities, but always enclose the cultures they study within delineated spaces, surrounded by borders, in the midst of which are located "in-betweens" or "interstices", construed as privileged sites for the irruption of hybridities. In so doing, they undermine the very ideas of complexity, fluidity, relation, intermixture, overlapping, or intersubjective experiences they pretend to promote. For spatial metaphors of culture imply boundaries and separations, not continuity (of cultural relations and interactions) and similarities (of cultural practices and value systems). Tying culture to space, which in the end leads to territory, as not only Homi Bhabha but also Stuart Hall suggests, refers back to a conservative idea of culture linked to a territory and the people who inhabit it, therefore to a fixist conception of identity, the very conception they aim to dismantle[6]. Spaces, even "in-between" or "interstitial" ones, do not support a conceptualisation of the intertwined, the enmeshed, and the intermixed nature of culture, construed as a combination of connections, continuous interactions and innovations. In his

study of the conquest of Mexico and the *métissages* that ensued, Serge Gruzinski demonstrates the impossibility of drawing borders to separate human ensembles confronted with each other, even in the first stages of the colonisation of the country: the indigenous world and the conquistador world were so entangled that it is impossible to unscramble them (Gruzinski 1999: 75). Laurier Turgeon draws the same conclusion from his research on the history of Canada (Turgeon 2003). Summing up his reflections on identity and culture, philosopher Paul Ricœur gives the following advice: "First of all, it seems necessary to sever the concept of cultural exchange from geopolitical concepts organised around the idea of borders […] to which I oppose the idea of radiance from cultural beams. I imagine the cultural map of the world as an interlacing of radiances emanating from various centres, from various beams which are not defined by the sovereignty of the nation-state but by their creativity and their ability to influence and generate responses from other beams […]" (Ricœur 2004). In this conception, culture indeed has no "location" (Gadamer 1985; Martin 2002).

Moreover, for anthropologists who have done fieldwork in Africa or in the Caribbean, the use of such words as *métissage* or hybridity also raises problems. Both originally imply that original "pure" and homogeneous elements entered into a combination. They cannot accommodate a history of mankind made of *métissages* of *métissages*, of hybridisation of hybridities, in which there was never a beginning, never any barrier to blending and mixing (Amselle 1990, 2000, 2001). As soon as the word *métissage* appeared in French, it signified something negative, a disorder in nature (R.P. Labat 1722, quoted in Bonniol & Benoist 1994: 60; Schwarcz 1993, chapter 2); an inference that was systematised in the 19th century by pseudo-scientific theories assimilating *métissage* with degeneration, turning the appellation *métis* into a brand of inferiority and a cause for shame[7]. Anthropologist Jean-Luc Bonniol demonstrates that *métissage* belongs to the same essentialist argument as race (Bonniol 2001: 11), therefore, if the concept of race is discarded, *métissage* becomes irrelevant (Bonniol & Benoist 1994: 68). Jean Benoist, both a medical doctor and an anthropologist, understands *métissage* as "[…] a social perception based only on those physical features that are socially visible, and ideologically signal a distance […]" and concludes: *métissage* "[…] amounts to a social way of thinking hybridisation" (Benoist 1996: 50) and, behind hybridisation, perceives the idea of something artificial, engineered (Benoist 1996: 48), not to mention the fact that hybridity may connote sterility[8]. These are the reasons why Jean Benoist, as well as Jean-Luc Bonniol, think it would be better to do away with *métissage* and hybridity: "There are other metaphors opening new

roads, radically overthrowing images [of illegitimate societies], and fostering the vision of a wholly positive future, where the eternal desire to apologise for being oneself has disappeared" (Benoist 1996: 52).

An incomplete eulogy of creoleness

A manifesto published in 1989 by three writers from Martinique, entitled *In Praise of Creoleness* (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant 1989) seemed to offer an alternative to *métissage* and hybridity: creoleness (*créolité*). They defined it as "[…] the interactional and transactional aggregate of Caribbean, European, African, Asian and Levantine cultural elements, united on the same soil by the yoke of history" (Bernabé, Chamoiseau, Confiant, English translation quoted in Gyssels 2003: 310). Creoleness is the product of creolisation, which must be understood as the process derived from "[…] a violent meeting, on islands or enclaves – even if immense, as Guyana or Brazil – of culturally different people […]" (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant 1989: 30). Creoleness manifests itself as "[…] a synchronistic cross-section on the unbroken axis of creolisation […]" (Confiant 1992: 27) and, although it is rooted in islands or enclaves of the West Indies and the Americas, it may expand to the whole world.

Theories of creoleness, and even more so of creolisation, encapsulate the main features of the phenomena that social scientists have been trying to analyse when dealing with colonial and post-colonial societies: original violence, in conquest and the slave trade; systems of domination, in slavery and colonisation; cultural contacts between people of different origins (autochthons, slaves, indentured workers, deported convicts and settlers); interactions and creations, from the beginning. Their authors underline that creolisation is a process and, thereby acknowledging their debt to Édouard Glissant, that it is on the way of becoming a world process. *In Praise of Creoleness* has nevertheless stirred up waves of criticism from other Caribbean writers, as well as from Caribbeanist scholars. They all remark that creoleness is basically defined as an identity, and a specificity, however open and complex it may be (Bernabé, Chamoiseau & Confiant 1989: 13; 27–28). The reliance of the authors of *In Praise of Creoleness* on the concept of identity as specificity also appears when they describe creoleness as made of an aggregate of various people who came or were brought to the West Indies from societies treated as homogeneous, in other words where they had not yet experienced diversity. The creoleness they praise can be interpreted as a form of Martiniquean parochialism which suffers from a lack of pan-Caribbean perspective (Price & Price 1997: 8;

11) and their depiction of West Indian life does not really correspond to the daily realities of the Caribbean. Maryse Condé, a novelist and scholar from Guadeloupe, considers that *In Praise of Creoleness* drafts "[…] a new order, even more restrictive than the existing one, [which] leaves little freedom for creativity". She finally asks: "Are we condemned to explore to saturation the resources of our narrow islands?" (quoted in Gyssels 2003: 305).

The title of the manifesto probably encapsulates the limitations of Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant's text: it praises creoleness, not creolisation. Although they hint at the potentialities of creolisation as a transformative force, they dwell much more on creoleness, as an identity, as a condition, as a background for the stories they write[9]. Consequently, their creoleness, if considered inadequate to analyse West Indian societies, cannot be of much help with regard to other countries, South Africa in particular. Michael Dash, the translator of Édouard Glissant's *Caribbean Discourse*, underlines that *In Praise of Creoleness* tends to "[…] turn Glissant's ideas into ideological dogma […] in terms that are suggestively reductionist […]" and "[…] risks undoing the epistemological break with essentialist thinking that he has always striven to conceptualise" (quoted in Price & Price 1997: 10). This can be read as an invitation to come back to Édouard Glissant and consider the implications of his notion of creolisation, and what radically distinguishes it from creoleness (and hybridity), and all the more so since Édouard Glissant was not the first to elaborate on creolisation and emphasise its processual and dynamic dimensions.

Creolisation as Relation

It seems that the idea of creolisation was introduced by Barbadian writer Kamau Brathwaite in 1971 to account for cultural processes in the course of which the confrontation of cultures was not only cruel, but also creative (Brathwaite 1971: 307). Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (Mintz & Price 1992) then used it as a means of comprehending the multiple aspects of cultural dynamics generated by contacts and exchanges between people of various origins that underlay the creation of new cultures in the West Indies. In their sense of the word, creolisation took into account both the environment (including power systems) where contacts occurred and the creative impulses it generated (Chivallon 2004b: 128); precisely what Rex Nettleford termed a "meeting in conflict". In search of a Caribbean cultural identity which would both encompass a dynamic pluralism and support national unity, the Jamaican unionist-cum-sociologist reconsiders the history of

his country, and uses creolisation to encompass every event the country went through since the arrival of the Europeans. To him, creolisation "[…] refers to the agonising process of renewal and growth that marks the new order of men and women who came originally from different Old World cultures (whether European, African, Levantine or Oriental) and met in conflict or otherwise on foreign soil". In the end, he stresses: "The operative word here is *conflict*" (Nettleford 1978: 2). Creolisation, as developed by these authors, has become one of the most efficient tools for unravelling the complex histories of the Caribbean, and for drawing lessons from it. Édouard Glissant eventually broadened the conceptual field covered by creolisation, so that it could no longer be confined to the West Indies or the Americas. The logic behind the movement of Édouard Glissant's thinking can be roughly summarised in four stages[10].

He starts from *métissage*, in spite of the load of doom and shame it carries and the controversies it has aroused, because he assumes that it still allows us to overcome the opposition between the One and the Other (Glissant 1997a: 213–214) and that the thought of cultures of *métissage* (distinct from cultural *métissages*) is a safeguard against limitations and intolerances, and may open up new spaces of Relation[11] (Glissant 1997c: 15).

Creolisation is constructed against this backdrop; as a matter of fact, it is like an unlimited *métissage* (Glissant 1990: 46), a dynamic process which does not operate by synthesising, but generates an unpredictable energy of overcoming (*une dépassante imprévisible*) whose results cannot be foreseen (Glissant 1997c: 16; 37). Being a process, it cannot be reduced to one content (like creoleness), and nowadays affects the whole world: "Creolisation does not restrict its operations to the Archipelagos' creole realities, or to their nascent languages. The world is creolising, it is not becoming creole, it is becoming the inextricable and unpredictable phenomenon that any creolisation process is pregnant with, and which is neither supported, nor legitimated by any model. Elsewhere, neither a stiff hybridation, nor a lone and limited *métissage*, nor a multi-whatever"[12] (Glissant 2005: 229–230).

Creolisation, construed as a dynamic process originating from *métissages*, must be understood as an introduction to *Relation*, the real force that moves today's world. Relation links/relays/relates/renders relative[13] what cannot be broken down into primordial components; it is a product that in turn produces (Glissant 1990: 174–175; 188). It is intellectually mastered through a poetics[14] of Relation that leads to addressing both the elusive globality of a chaotic world and the "opacity" of the place one is from (Glissant 1997c: 22). The poetics of Relation makes thinkable

the communication between cultural idiosyncrasies (*opacités*) which have mutually freed themselves of the idea of their differences (Glissant 1997a: 50). "For the poetics of Relation implies that everyone be presented with the Other's density (opacity). The more the Other defends his thickness and his fluidity (without limiting himself to what they define), the more expressive his reality becomes, and the more fertile the relation"[15] (ibid.: 24).

Relation is the foundation of the Whole-World (*Tout-Monde*), that totality in process affected and remodelled by creolisation, in which contractions of space and accelerations of time produce unexpected effects (Glissant 2005: 138). A poetics of Relation answers the obligation to think in terms of worldness (*mondialité*) and not of globalisation (*mondialisation*): a universe that for the first time in history can be envisioned as inextricably multiple and one. The multiplicity of the world thought as *mondialité* accommodates individuals and specificities; it eliminates all contradictions between multiplicity and singularity; but demands a "[…] massive insurrection of the imaginary that will at last lead humans to want themselves and to create themselves (without any moral command) as they really are: a never ending change, in a perenniality that never congeals"[16] (Glissant 2005: 25).

A creolising South Africa?

Although neither Brazil nor the Caribbean islands ever endured anything like apartheid, they share with South Africa a history of conquest, slavery, colonialism and domination by a ruling class that originally pretended to draw its legitimacy from racial superiority and which, for a long time, was able to retain power as an inheritance from the past, even after racialist ideologies were officially discarded. Given the abundance of literature dealing with the history of these regions and the theoretical discussions that have been generated by the works of historians, anthropologists and sociologists, it appears possible to look to Brazil and the Caribbean to see if South Africa could benefit from both their experience and the scholarly research that has attempted to grapple with it.

The impact of Gilberto Freyre's reconstructions of Brazil's past certainly suggests that rehabilitation, not only of colour, but of cultural and biological blending – *mestiçagem* – can definitely have an impact on the evolution of a post-colonial, post-slavery society; that a philosophy of fusion may contribute to the emergence of a new collective conscience, thence to the development of a new collective being. However, given the particular brutality of the type of social organisation that reigned in South Africa after the 17th century, one may doubt

that a romanticisation of its past, from slavery to apartheid as uncovered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, will acquire any transformative power.

With regard to South Africa, one argument in Gilberto Freyre's theory needs to be revisited at this point. He repeatedly states that the Portuguese were a *mestiço* people, which made it easier for them to adapt to tropical conditions and, since they were devoid of racial prejudices, to mix with indigenous populations. Gilberto Freyre considers that the Portuguese were radically different from "Nordic" people. The history of Batavia, however, belies his argument. In Java under Dutch rule, a creole culture blossomed, engendered by intimate interaction and mixing between colonisers and local people, against the backdrop of a previous "Iberian and Asian cultural medley" (Gelman Taylor 1983: 51). Marriage of lower-ranking officials of the government of Batavia with slave women (who then had to be manumitted) was encouraged, and as a matter of fact Dutch men belonging to all walks of colonial life engaged in sexual and social relations with indigenous women (Gelman Taylor 1983: 171–172). Children born from these unions were raised in the Indonesian fashion (Gelman Taylor 1983: 16-17; 28–30). As early as 1642, at a time when Jan van Riebeeck, the first Dutch official sent to the Cape in 1652, was still in Batavia, the Dutch East India Company officially acknowledged miscegenation. This *mestiza* way of life remained dominant until the 19th century, and even persisted until the 1910s and 1920s in the interior of Java (Gelman Taylor 1983: 168). In Batavia, according to most historians, the sense of "race" was radically different from the one that was to govern social life in South Africa: "[…] in the Dutch East Indies, the notion of race never acquired the performative power it is generally considered to have gained in black Africa. Most Dutch settlers would easily have admitted that they and the Javanese belonged to the same 'species'; the Javanese were just not as 'civilised' as the Dutch" (Bertrand 2005: 594).

As a matter of fact, at the very beginning of the Dutch East India Company's rule at the Cape, masters and slaves entertained very intimate relationships, which resulted not only in the emergence of a group of people whose parents were of mixed European and African, Madagascan or Asian descent, but also in the first, embryonic forms of the creole culture detected by Robert C.-H. Shell. Historian Hans Heese has carefully studied both the interactions that took place between the people who met at the Cape between 1652 and 1795, and their incidence on the shape that South African society was to take in the 19th and 20th centuries. He demonstrates that intense miscegenation took place: "From the cited examples of ethnic and genetic mixing which occurred until 1795 at the Cape, it is clear that it would be difficult to find another place where the racial melting pot equalled that

at the Cape […] If the harsh racial classification of the Americans in the 18th and 19th century had been applied at the Cape, the white population of South Africa would have been much smaller and the 'Coloured Group' much larger. The South African melting pot is made much more complex by the fact that Europeans, Indians, Africans, Khoikhoi, San, Chinese and East Indian all contributed to the formation of a group of coloured people who, after three centuries, still do not show signs of physical homogeneity" (Heese 2006: 24). In the times of the VOC, social position was not so much linked to one's skin colour and physical appearance as to the expression of behavioural codes and norms deemed European, decent and civilised: "[…] the colour of a freeborn person or the racial type he represented was until 1795 not a legal obstacle to material or social advancement in Cape Town and its immediate surroundings. Membership of the Christian church made assimilation into European society a greater possibility especially for women and was the key to, among other things, material prosperity. By contrast, Muslims or those who were clearly non-Christian found themselves outside white mainstream. It was among this group that Islam thrived and, through its strict moral codes, contributed to the social upliftment of slaves, free blacks and other free-coloureds" (Heese 2006: 56). The slaves' social ascension depended obviously on the will of their owners to manumit them, even if some of them managed to buy their own freedom, and if free blacks endeavoured to liberate relatives, friends, or believers in the same religion. Manumission occurred primarily in the domestic sphere and, to a certain extent, at the Lodge where the Company's slaves were kept (Shell 1994: chapter 12). "The key to social and economic (and in the 19th century also political) progress for persons of mixed ancestry was therefore acceptance into the European-white group with its Christian-western character. Factors that hindered this assimilation were physical appearance (the blacker, the more difficult) and being born into slavery. A third factor that made assimilation into the white group impossible for an individual was, in the case of free coloureds, acceptance of the Islamic faith" (Heese 2006: 59).

Cape Town's society in the 18th century was at the same time extremely mixed and solidly hierarchised, although the borders between racial and social categories were still relatively blurred. A small number of persons of mixed parentage could be accepted within the ruling elite, provided they behaved like the Europeans, which allowed them to adopt matrimonial strategies aiming at progressively erasing phenotypical signs of a foreign and unfree origin. At the other end of the social spectrum, the poor, slave and free, tended to share the same living conditions, and the same ways of life. The various processes of mixing and blending that took

place at every echelon of Cape Town's society rapidly transformed the town into a "melting-pot" from which flowed specific dynamics of creolisation. Until 1795, the Cape may not have been so different from Batavia: it was a slave society, brutal and ruthless; an expanding settlement encroaching on the land of indigenous people and drying up their economic resources; yet it was also a hotbed of miscegenation and cultural exchanges of which not only architecture, cuisine and language, but also, and most evidently, music bear testimony.

The germs of racial differentiation were indeed part and parcel of the Cape's colonisation. But it was the aboriginal inhabitants of the region who were first declared non-human, or considered as belonging to a very degraded rung of humanity. When the Cape was colonised, the Khoikhoi people whom European discoverers then settlers encountered were immediately portrayed as not fully human. In 1608, John Jourdain stated bluntly: "[…] I think the world doth not yield a more heathenish people and more beastlie" (Boonzaier et al.: 9); Nicolaus de Graaf, surgeon aboard a VOC vessel, wrote in 1640: "In one word, in all their manners they look like beasts" (Fauvelle-Aymar 2002: 111); at best, they were re-introduced into the Christian vision of history in a derogatory position, as "doomed descendants of Cham" (Sir Thomas Herbert in 1627, quoted in: Fauvelle-Aymar 2002: 114). The story of Krotoa/Eva was used to lay the foundations of a long-lasting prejudice against indigenous South African peoples, and to provide evidence that any attempt to mix with them was conducive to failure and degeneration. Krotoa was a Khoi girl in the service of Jan van Riebeeck. She was baptised under the name Eva and subsequently married to a Danish surgeon; she is said to have eventually become a drunkard and a prostitute. "Those who claimed to have witnessed her 'adulterous and debauched life' believed that the care given her in the past was ineffectual in the face of her 'Hottentot nature'" (Boonzaier et al.: 75). This attitude of hostility to Africans and to miscegenation extended to slaves and their offspring and was justified in the 19th century by racialist theories of social evolutionism. It moulded the conceptions of "race relations" that prevailed among the South African ruling classes in the 19th and 20th centuries. These conceptions have been so ingrained in the social fabric – being also partly internalised by those whose oppression was justified by them – that it will need more than a rosy repainting of the past to annihilate all their direct and indirect effects.

The contradictions and ambiguities of hybridity, *métissage* and creoleness, as have been exposed above, do not suggest they can be used as concepts capable of producing a new historical imaginary for South Africa. On the other hand, creolisation might open up interesting perspectives. In the works of the first

Caribbean writers who used it, it was meant to account for the confrontations and violence caused by encounters, without downplaying the creative dynamics unleashed by these conflictive meetings. This fits very well into South African history. Creolisation, Édouard Glissant insists, cannot be locked up in the West Indies; it has a universal bearing. In this sense, it is rooted in *métissages* that must be thought of as dissolving the oppositions between individuals and groups, erected by ideologies of racial differences, in order to put in their stead connections, interactions, common creations, of which culture always shows evidence. *Métissage* (not only miscegenation, but primarily blending of cultural elements) appears to be an undeniable feature of South African history and encourages us to see South Africa as a continuous creation by all its previous and current inhabitants. If creolisation is an unlimited *métissage*, a dynamic process thrust by an "unpredictable energy of overcoming", one should consider whether redefining South Africa as a creolising country may clear the ground for overcoming internal conflicts inherited from the past. Creolisation is an aspect of Relation, which allows us to conceptualise communication between cultural idiosyncrasies (*opacités*) mutually freed of the toughness of their differences. This implies that particularities are a necessary ingredient of Relation, but also that they have to be permanently redefined and reconstructed; particularities cannot remain disconnecting properties, to be isolated and defended, but should be lived and understood as characteristics or specificities to offer, to share, and to mix.

From this perspective, examining the processes through which original musics were created in South Africa, and first of all in Cape Town and the Cape region, would contribute to demonstrating the intensity and protractedness of creolisation dynamics that threaded South African society, and eventually to assessing the impact that putting them in direct light could have on social relations in contemporary South Africa.

Colonial Cape: The Cradle of Creolisation[17]

The complexities and intricacies of the type of society that developed at the Cape from the 17th to the 20th century have been minutely described and analysed[18]. The extant literature emphasises the entanglement of intimacy and violence, of rigid hierarchies and cross-fertilisation which was common to most slave societies; it highlights the ambivalence of the settlers' attitudes towards the Khoikhoi and the slaves, and shows how the denial of their humaneness never precluded curiosity, desire and lust. The dynamics of creolisation that were to fashion cultural

production at the Cape arose from this ambivalence. But it also led the dominant stratum – the government officials, the settlers and their descendants – to deny that they had been acculturated[19] in a mixed society: they pretended not to have any part in the outcomes of creolisation processes, unless they claimed exclusive property of creole productions such as the Afrikaans language. Yet, many cultural practices still reveal how deeply European settlers and their descendants have been acculturated. Beyond Afrikaans, cuisine is one of them, and the sharing of a dish like *bobotie* across alleged racial boundaries provides a good example of what has been invented in the kitchens where the first rudiments of *kombuistaal* (kitchen language) were babbled (Martin 2010a). Outside the kitchens, in the lounges and the gardens, but also in the fields and in the slave quarters, music (and indeed dance) was the domain where the most intense exchanges between the extremely varied people who coexisted at the Cape took place; music and dance were the most efficient vehicles to overcome barriers erected to separate people according to their origin, their skin colour and their social position.

Dance to the sound of a ramkie and a small drum.

First encounters

As has already been mentioned, the first Europeans to meet the Khoikhoi inhabiting the region of the Cape of Good Hope had the opportunity to hear them play music. The reaction of Vasco da Gama's diarist, shows not only surprise but, in a way, appreciation: for, writes he, they harmonise "[…] very well together for blacks from whom music is not expected". The same attitude would prevail among Europeans, settlers or travellers who discovered the music of the people called "Hottentots": in the account given in 1661 by Pieter van Meerhoff (who married Krotoa/Eva); in William John Burchell's account of his 1811 encounter with an old chief who "was considered a good performer on the *goráh*[20]". Burchell commented that although the instrumentalist "[…] intermingled with his music certain grunting sounds which would have highly pleased the pigs […]", Burchell was so interested that he carefully notated the brief melody played on the bow and drew a precise etching of the musician's posture; he concluded his presentation of the *goráh* and the music played on it by quite a positive commentary: "There is sufficient in these few notes, to show that he [the player] possessed an ear capable of distinguishing musical intervals; and they are besides remarkable, under all circumstances, as a specimen of natural modulation" (Burchell 1967: i; 460). In the same way, a year later, he minutely described dances, vocal polyphony and drum beating. Of the singing, he wrote: "Both men and women assisted in this singing, and, though not in unison, were still correctly in harmony with each other: but the voices of the girls, pitched a fifth or a sixth higher, were maintained with more animation." From the display of the Khoikhoi's musical abilities, he concluded: "[…] in this point of view, it would be an injustice to these poor creatures not to place them in a more respectable rank, than that to which the notions of Europeans have generally admitted them. It was not rude laughter and boisterous mirth, nor drunken jokes, nor noisy talk, which passed their hours away; but the peaceful, calm emotions of harmless pleasure" (Burchell 1967: ii; 66). Burchell's judgement is indeed imbued with ideas of European superiority, and his appreciation of "Hottentot" music derives from the fact that he perceives in it similarities with European music; yet, it is music that encourages him to reconsider the low esteem in which they were generally held in his time.

If we know about Europeans' reactions to indigenous music, because they wrote about their experiences, we have no idea of the impression European music made on the Khoikhoi and the slaves (at least those who had not been previously exposed to the music of Batavian settlers), of what thought, for instance, the "Hottentot"

chief entertained by Jan van Riebeeck with a harpsichord recital (Kirby 1937: 26). What we do know is that slave musicians played for the pleasure of their masters, and that slaves and the Khoikhois appropriated European instruments and repertoires.

There is evidence that slave orchestras were formed very early in the colonial history of the Cape: "As far back as 1676, when Abraham van Riebeeck – the second child of European parentage to be born at the Cape – arrived in Table Valley on a visit to the land of his birth, he was entertained at the Governor's residence by a black steward and another young slave who played the harp and the lute. Their execution was masterly; both of them had a nice ear for music […]" (De Kock 1950: 92). In the 18th century, although "The amusements of the people were few […] The Cape people had a passion for dancing and nearly everyone indulged in this form of recreation. Contre dances, waltzes, minuets and quadrilles were the favourite dances. Amongst the wealthy who had young folks in the house, dance was a regular past-time. The orchestra on such occasions was supplied by the slaves who were excellent musicians. The cook exchanged the saucepan for the flute, the groom left his curry-comb and took up his violin and the gardener threw down his spade and sat down to his violoncello. During the meals, the slaves, seated on a raised dais at the upper end of the large dining hall, discoursed music" (Botha 1970: 51). Around 1797, Lady Ann Barnard, the wife of the Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope, who left in her diaries, letters and drawings a vivid picture of social life at the end of the 18th century, used to invite all "who wish to be merry without cards or dice but who can talk or 'hop' to half a dozen black fiddlers, to come and see me on my public day, which shall be once a fortnight, when the Dutch ladies (all of whom love dancing, and flirting still more) shall be kindly welcomed, and the poor ensigns and cornets shall have an opportunity of stretching their legs as well as the generals"[21] (Bouws 1966a: 139).

Such social dances continued well into the 19th century. "A nice example of a home orchestra during the last years of Dutch government is that of Pieter van Breda, owner of Oranjezicht. A music tent stood in one of the gardens of his estate. When Mr van Breda was to have his slaves play music there, he raised the flag so that music lovers in the city knew that they were welcome at Oranjezicht. The orchestra consisted of 30 slaves who sometimes wore uniforms. Most of them played flute or violin […] We have more information about another slave orchestra. In one of his letters (2 July 1825) the Dutch visitor M.D. Teenstra tells of his experiences and his visit to the widow Colyn of Klein Constantia. He writes about how surprised he was by the music of 16 musicians who 'belong to

Miss Colyn as slaves': 'they perform perfect fieldmusic [*veldmuzijk*], with all wind and other instruments needed, clarinets, flutes, trumpets, bassoon, snake, cymbals and two large drums, and play them as well as the best English corps in Cape Town dare to think'"[22] (Bouws 1966a: 140–141). Jan Bouws draws part of his information from the journals of the German traveller Henri Lichtenstein[23], who explains that slaves were not only "natural" musicians, but were also trained: "[…] there were men ['affranchis', i.e. free blacks[24]] in the town who gained their living by instructing the slaves in music, though neither master nor pupils knew a single note, playing entirely by ear" (De Kock 1950: 94).

From these early relations, it seems that the music played must have been strictly European, even if of the parlour dance genre. However, it was not only the Europeans who participated in what have been called "rainbow balls": "One visitor to the Cape, after attending a 'rainbow ball' – to use his own phrase – remarked that he was agreeably surprised to notice with what decorum the slave girls and others 'composed of each different hue in this many-coloured town' conducted themselves and with what striking success they imitated the manner, conversation and dancing of their mistresses" (De Kock 1950: 93). Later, in the 1860s, it even happened that masters and servants eventually joined in an inextricable confusion. Lady Louisa Ross recounts that, one evening on a Newlands farm: "[…] there was a general cry for the musicians to strike up and *'spuil a bietjie'* [25]. Speedily a clever stringed band came to the front, and fiddled away at whatever was called for, entirely by ear. Jigs, melodies, and polkas followed in rapid succession. Then a supply of beer was served out to them, during the consumption of which the younger folk sent off urgent dispatches to their dancing neighbours to come and join them, and then dashed with the utmost zeal into the circling waltz and fatiguing gallopade. Then the servants – male and female – pressed forward to see the fun, and being descried, were ordered by the old squire to stand forth and dance away for their master's amusement, while the old people placidly looked on and enjoyed their pipes and coffee *à la turque*. The new arrivals brought with them fresh musicians and vigorous limbs, and so master and valet, maiden and maid, footman and groom, and pages of high and low degree, in inextricable confusion, went footing it and capering it over the smoothly-mown lawn, until even the coarse grass broke out into a violent perspiration, and the falling dew drove the company within doors. Nor would they stop here! Their dancing blood being thoroughly up, a ball-room was soon improvised […]" (Ross 1963: 68).

Descriptions of musical events and dances mention names of tunes and dances which come from Europe: country dances, jigs, reels, minuets, polka, waltzes,

quadrilles. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that as soon as European tunes and dances were learnt, a process of appropriation started which, as always, transformed the repertoires and movements that had been acquired. Workers employed by the Moravian missionaries at Genadendal embellished Christian hymns in a peculiar fashion. Christian Ignatius Latrobe recalled having heard, in about 1815 or 1816, "[…] a party of men and women employed as day-labourers in the missionaries' garden […] most melodiously singing a verse, by way of a grace. One of the women sung a correct second, and very sweetly performed that figure in music, called Retardation […]" (quoted in Lucia 2005: 7). Unfortunately, nothing is known of the way singers trained at the Lovedale Presbyterian Mission[26] rendered hymns in the 1820s and later. What we do know is that from Lovedale spawned a generation of African composers who, like Tiyo Soga and John Knox Bokwe, re-invented Christian religious songs by instilling in them elements of African music. On his own, Ntsikana Gaba composed in 1822 a "Great Hymn" that is considered to be the first example of an Africanised Christian religious song[27] (Coplan 2008: 39–45). On the fringes of the Cape Colony, at the beginning of the 19th century, appropriation of European music by Africans was indeed transformative and innovative.

At the Cape, one is inclined to think that, similarly, when slaves enjoyed some free time on Sunday afternoons, they did not just reproduce what they played for the entertainment of their masters but adapted it to meet what they expected of music and dance in the conditions of slavery. "Often on a Sunday afternoon the slaves could be seen dancing with their own womenfolk or with Hottentot partners; sometimes, indeed, they would pool their rixdollars to hire a wagon in order to spend an afternoon at the seaside or at one or other of the dancing-houses in the country. Clavichords, zithers, mouth-organs, trumpets, clarions, drums and even '*een instrument dat men een ravekinje hiet*'[28] were amongst the musical instruments employed by the slaves" (De Kock 1950: 96).

The *ravekinje*, or *ramkie*, had already been mentioned by O.F. Mentzel in the 1730s. Its inclusion here in a list of instruments played by the slaves on an occasion when they were making music by themselves, and not for their masters, needs to be underlined, for this instrument provides one of the first evidences that creolisation processes were at work at the Cape in the 18th and 19th centuries. A finger plucked lute, with a calabash or wooden resonator, which varied in form and number of strings, it appeared among the Khoikhoi and other African people in the 18th century, and seems to have been used to play chords rather than melodies, on its own rather than to accompany songs[29]. Its origin is usually traced back to

Indonesia, where an ancestor of the *ramkie* could have been brought with Islam from Arabic lands. The *ramkie* also shares striking similarities with the Indonesian *kroncong*, a four or five stringed plucked lute, descended from the Portuguese *cavaquinho*, which seems to have been played for dancing, alongside a tambourine (Yampolsky 2010: 8). Percival R. Kirby suggests that the name *ramkie* comes from the Portuguese *rabeca pequena*, itself derived from the Arab *rabāb*[30]. According to this genealogy, *rebecas pequenas* were brought to the Cape by "Malay" slaves from Java and then adopted by "Hottentots", Bushmen and Bantu-speaking people of southern Africa. There is a widespread tendency, among the first scholars who have shown an interest in the culture of the slaves and their descendants, to attribute any innovation and original manifestation of creativity to an external origin, be it western or eastern. As a matter of fact, it is likely that slaves imported from Batavia brought with them elements of the local creole culture, along with expertise they had acquired prior to their transfer to the Cape. This included the knowledge of instruments originating from Indonesia, Europe and the Arabian peninsula, and of repertoires played on these instruments, which could already, in the 17th century, be the result of early creolisation processes. It is therefore possible that a type of creole lute was transported from Indonesia to southern Africa[31]; but this does not preclude the even stronger probability that it met there with other types of lutes, indigenous or exogenous, and eventually, through several phases of *bricolage*, gave birth to the family of instrument named *ramkie*. Percival R. Kirby does mention that one of the *ramkies* in his possession may have been influenced by the American banjo[32] heard in the hands of English or American blackface minstrels, and perhaps also sailors. Consequently, one may surmise that, earlier, lutes of the guitar and mandolin families, as well as African lutes, and Madagascan *kabôsy*[33] have inspired makers of the various *ramkies*, and that music played on the *ramkie* was already creolised: "In any event, the *ramkie* rapidly became a favourite with Cape Khoikhoi, who played on it the first blendings of Khoi and European folk melodies, tunes that still lie strewn in the basement of black South African music, and passed the instrument on to the San and the Tswana and the Sotho" (Coplan 2008: 14).

Musical encounters also took place on occasions that were not frequently related, because they showed Europeans interacting too freely with slaves and the Khoikhoi. There are however a few relations that hint at how people mixed in certain places. It has been reported that, not more than 30 years after Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape, "[…] in the slave lodge of the Company, lechery between Europeans and slaves took place. They even went so far as to dance together stark naked […]" (Hoge 1972: 103). In the same period, "[d]uring the week days, and

even on Sundays after divine service, large numbers of the colonists repaired to the taverns to listen to the strains of violins, flutes, hautboys, trumpets, harps and other instruments played by the slaves […] Some of the tavern-keepers bought only those slaves who were familiar with the use of some musical instrument, and we find the owner of a False Bay inn admitting that he kept a slave boy for the dual purpose of fishing from the boat and playing the violin at the tavern. In his diary Von Dessin relates his pleasure at learning that a Madagascar slave whom he had purchased as a cook could perform on the flute, the hautboy and the French horn" (De Cock 1950: 91–92). And, of course, Cape Town being a port city, sailors had their favourite meeting places, where they rubbed shoulders with all categories of Capetonians: at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th, "[…] ordinary sailors could find entertainment in more than one sailor bar […] where they danced to the wind and string music of one or more slave musicians, at times the men with each other (not all musicians that played in bars were slaves)" (Bouws 1966a: 138).

Preludes to creolisation

When music was played at the Cape in the times of the Dutch East India Company, it always involved people belonging to different categories: Europeans, the Khoikhoi and slaves, as musicians, dancers or listeners. There is every reason to believe that in places where the poorest colonists, sailors, slaves and Khoikhois intermingled, they made music and danced together, and therefore began to invent new musical modes of expression. Unfortunately we know nothing about the characteristics of these original musical forms. It is only at the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th that evidences of particular musical practices are mentioned.

Percival R. Kirby affirms that, already before 1685, "[…] at Christmas time bands of Malays go through the streets of Cape Town performing upon violin, guitar and cello. The cello, remarkably enough, is slung round the neck of the performer by a strap and is played with a double bass bow" (Kirby 1937: 27). But the earliest reference to what could have been a creole song, the possible ancestor of the *ghoemaliedjies* that were to blossom later, relates to "[…] a certain 'Biron' who was punished in 1707 for singing dubious ditties 'half in Malay, half in Dutch' in the streets of Cape Town […]" (Winberg ca.1992: 78)[34]. Christine Winberg suggests that the "dubious ditties" may have carried satirical commentaries on "the ways of the white masters", an interpretation which the punishment inflicted

upon "Biron" tends to support. In any case, the language used by the singer was original, and this was probably sufficient enough to make the song "dubious", especially if the melody to which the words were sung was also unfamiliar to European ears. German traveller O.F. Mentzel confirms that creolisation was in the offing: "Among the slaves and Hottentots there are generally womenfolk who can pluck the strings of a raveking […], and to whose highly unmelodious sounds another slave of Hottentot adds a few discords on the gom-gom [*ghoema*, drum] to the dancing of the slaves" (Schoeman 2007[35]: 237). This quotation suggests that, some time after Biron sang "dubious ditties" in a mixture of languages, slaves danced to the sounds of an original lute of their making, which had been named by them, and of a drum whose name evokes the English "tom tom" – created at the end of the 17th century from the Hindi *ṯam ṯam* – the pan-bantu root *ngoma*, and one of the names attributed to the *!göra,* a Korana (Khoikhoi) musical bow. The appellation gom-gom – one of the possible etymologies of *ghoema*, which will become the emblematic drum of Cape Town – hints at the blending of several families of drum originating in various parts of the world under a name which phonetically mixes English and Khoi. In addition to the names of the instruments played by the slaves, the depiction of their music as "unmelodious" and discordant amounts, in the biased Eurocentric language of the observer, to highlighting that what was played did not conform to European canons and was certainly original.

But in those times originality was not easily tolerated by the authorities: when non-Europeans played music the rulers found unpleasant, they were prosecuted. In 1724, "[…] the coloured drummer Daniel de Vyf appeared before the Burgher War Council because he had disturbed the peace by playing a violin '*heen en weer swevend*' [weaving from side to side] while on guard duty" (Heese 2006: 47). In 1803, the government issued the following regulation: "[…] no private bands of music shall play in the streets after sunset or before sunrise nor any other musical assemblage, held in the streets, unless the military bands of his Majesty or of the Batavian Republic, who of course will have the previous permission from their respective commanding officers"[36] (Bouws 1966a: 150). The ordinance certainly aimed at slave, Khoikhoi, free black or poor white musicians, or any congregation of them, but did not prove very effective; in 1813 the Fiscal had to remind that '[n]o slave may sing, whistle or make any other noise in the streets, by which they are accustomed to induce one another out of the houses, thereby affording an opportunity of committing irregularities or of concealing stolen goods, on pain, if detected, of being severely flogged" (Schoeman 2007: 231); and in 1875, the Cape Town municipality decided to give the police the right to arrest

people making "[…] any loud and unseemly noise, in any street, square, alley, or public thoroughfare either by shouting, screaming, or yelling, by blowing upon any instrument which may disturb or interfere with the rest, peace, comfort or tranquillity of the inhabitants" (quoted in Bickford-Smith 1996: 21).

During the same period, Muslim religious music was also performed as part of Sufi rituals. In 1772, "Javanese" political prisoners that had been deported from Batavia to the Cape and whose descendants were free, held prayer meetings under the guidance of a "Prince", who may have been Tuan Guru[37]: "About eight in the evening the service commenced, when they began to sing loud and soft alternately, sometimes the priests alone, at other time the whole congregation" (Elphick & Shell 1992: 192–193[38]). This brief description allows us to understand that the songs performed during this ritual were built on a call-and-response structure, with variations of intensity, most probably a *dhikr*[39], which may be one of the roots of 20th century *nederlandsliedjies*.

In the countryside, there were also signs that something new was in the making. William Burchell, again, paid particular attention to manifestations of "Hottentot" musical imagination and talent. In 1811, he tells of a musician who made his own instrument: "He brought with him a curious proof of his ingenuity; a *fiddle* of his own making. I could not be otherwise than exceedingly amused, for the rudeness of its appearance was really laughable. Yet it gave, every thing considered, an excellent tone, and proved, during our travels, a most valuable article. This mirth inspiring *utensil* was a kind of oblong bowl, carved out of willow-wood, and covered over with sheep-skin or parchment. A finger-board with screws, bridge, and tail-piece, together with a bow, were all formed in imitation of a European violin, and nearly in the proper proportion. The strings, twisted of their due thickness, were made from sheep's entrails, and the horse's tail supplied the hair for the bow […] But my own pleasure and surprise were heightened still more, when, on desiring to hear a specimen of his playing, he clapped his *Cremona* to his shoulder, handled his bow with all the grace of a Hottentot, and fiddled a dance in so lively a manner, that my men and myself were all in the highest degree delighted" (Burchell 1967: i, 499–500). The instrument, as described, borrows from African lutes (willow-wood bowl covered with sheep-skin) and from the European violin (type of finger-board). The kind of dance music played is not identifiable but is clearly enjoyable to Europeans, and it may have been of European origin and more or less transformed. For, a year later, William Burchell relates how young "Hottentots" easily appropriated European melodies: "[…] they listened so attentively to the tunes which were played on our violin, that they soon learnt them perfectly, and often gave me the

pleasure of hearing them sung with a readiness and correctness which surprised me […]" (Burchell 1967: ii, 437). Appropriation inevitably led to innovation. Local adaptations of the violin were used "[…] to play both neo-traditional, syncretic and European folk styles of dance and song" (Coplan 2008: 14). New genres of music were soon adopted by non-Khoikhoi musicians: "Rural Dutch and later Afrikaans-speaking (*Boer*) folk musicians participated in these musical innovations by sharing with their coloured neighbours the *velviool*, made by stretching a steenbok skin over a wooden frame. It was on such instruments that Euro-Khoi syncretic music was first played in the hearing of Bantu-speaking Africans, including Xhosa and Tswana" (Coplan 2008: 14–15).

In Cape Town, European songs and dancing pieces, military music and Muslim religious music coexisted with what remains mostly undocumented: the various genres and repertoires brought by the slaves from their diverse cultures of origin. In the interior, neo-traditional[40] and syncretic[41] styles developed from the mutual discovery by Europeans and Khoikhoi of their respective music. Given the connections that tied Cape Town with the countryside, urban and rural innovations mixed and generated creole forms that observers began to notice in the 19th century.

In the 1820s, slaves were permitted to hold Sunday dances. W.W. Bird[42] mentions that Mozambicans and Madagascans participated, but at this time, creole slaves must also have been present, since they accounted for about 60 per cent of the total slave population (Shell 1994: 47). The memory of musics from the slaves' motherlands was certainly fading, overpowered by the new mixtures that were taking shape: "The grand display is in the outskirts of the town, to which the black population rush, on a Sunday, and go through their various awkward movements in quick or slow time, according to the taste of the dancers. The Sunday dance is accompanied by native music of every description. The slave boys from Madagascar and Mozambique bring the stringed instruments of their respective tribes and nation, from which they force sounds, which they regard as melodious. The love of dancing is a ruling passion throughout the Cape population in every rank; but music, though a pursuit favoured by a small part of the society, is here a passion with the negro alone" (Ross 1989: 45). Drums were also used during these meetings, and were said to be beaten irregularly, which may mean that they did not play on the beat but produced more elaborated rhythmic patterns (Kirby 1939: 479).

For the slaves and the poor, music was mostly an open-air activity: it was performed in the streets, on the outskirts of town, on the beaches during picnics, all

year round but more intensely when the weather was most favourable. The festivities organised for Christmas and the New Year, in the heart of the southern hemisphere summer, resounded with music. Even before the abolition of slavery, as soon as 1823, it became customary for coloured bands to parade in the streets on 1 January (Patterson 1953: 156). When emancipation was proclaimed, on 1 December 1834, street marches also celebrated the event: "Large bodies of the 'Apprentices'[43], of all ages and both sexes, promenaded the streets during the day and night, many of them attended by a band of amateur musicians; but their amusements were simple and interesting; their demeanour orderly and respectful."[44] The same scenes happened again four years later: "In 1838, a witness to the celebrations ending apprenticeship said he saw processions of coloured people singing a Dutch song, in which every verse ended 'Victoria! Victoria! *Daar waai de Engelschen Vlaag*'[45]" (Steytler 1970: 25, quoted in Bickford-Smith 1994: 298). This shows that British influences, made more attractive by the policy of the Crown on the slave trade and slavery, entered the Cape mix at the beginning of the 19th century. After 1838, musical practices that had taken shape during slavery persisted.

Cape Town accommodated dance bands, military bands, secular and religious singers. They all contributed to the creation of creole forms. Coloured and "Malay" musicians were so highly appreciated that they could perform alongside European orchestras. Around 1849, "On various occasions Van der Schyff's popular 'native' band – which consisted of Cape Malayans – took turns with their military colleagues; both groups were then praised for their playing. In the description of the ball in honour of Sir George Napier and his wife the quadrilles of the Malayan performers were called lively and spirited, but the manner in which the musicians of the 45th Regiment played the waltzes are described by the writer as 'superlatively excellent'. At the beginning of this evening these two groups of musicians cooperated in the opening of the festivity. The important guests were welcomed outside by a guard of honour formed by members of the 45th Regiment. The latter was then taken over by the Malayan band when the governor entered the hall"[46] (Bouws 1966a: 92). Orchestras composed of former slaves, or children of slaves, were still in favour among Cape Town dancers. "Already since the previous century dance music was played by small coloured orchestras, who played this music completely by ear, since they could read no music. Similar little orchestras were also active in 1855. The newspaper announced that the 'well-known Malay Band' played admirably at the performance by Parry's Theatre Company. Hamelberg writes in his diary of 2 January 1855 that the 'Mammoth Quadrille Band', who played dance music on occasion of the fall of Sebastopol, consisted of '6 violins, 2 violoncellos, 1

trumpet, 1 clarinet, 1 Turkish and 1 ordinary drum, instruments played in part by Negroes'[47]" (Bouws 1946: 104). Cape Town discovered the quadrille with enthusiasm, and various figures of that dance were used as a basis for the creation of creole pieces of music, in a process that parallels what also happened in the West Indies and North America. "Coloured" or "Malay" musicians did not constitute a group isolated from European musicians. The "Mamoth Quadrille Band" appears to have included "non-negro" members and, in 1861, an advertisement published in *The Cape Chronicle* announced that: "J. Jacobs, Professor of music (lately from Germany) and P. van Der Schyff[48], having succeeded in forming a superior Quadrille Band of sixteen performers are now prepared to attend Balls, Picnics or any other Assembly where their services may be required, on the shortest notice. Any number of the members can be engaged from four up to the full band. Terms Liberal. Applications to be made either to P. van der Schyff, 96, Rose Street or to J. Jacobs, 1, Lelie Street" (*The Cape Chronicle*, 13 September 1861).

The talent and ability of coloured musicians were generally acclaimed, and it was recognised that some of them could play much better than white instrumentalists. Lady Duff Gordon[49] writes that at a New Year's Eve ball held in Caledon in 1862: "When I went into the hall, a Dutchman was *screeching* a concertina hideously. Presently in walked a yellow Malay with a blue cotton handkerchief on his head, and a half-breed of negro blood (very dark brown), with a red handkerchief, and holding a rough tambourine. The handsome yellow man took the concertina which seemed so discordant, and the touch of his dainty fingers transformed it to harmony. He played dances with a precision and feeling quite unequalled, except by Strauss's band, and a variety which seemed endless […] New night, there was a genteeler company, and I did not go in, but lay in bed listening to the Malay's playing. He had quite a fresh set of tunes of which several were from the 'Traviata'!" (Duff Gordon 1927: 80–81).

Besides professional or semi-professional musicians active in dance bands, amateur singers were innumerable and enlivened the streets with their harmonies. In the 1840s, "Cape Malays" who strolled "[…] on moonlight nights, and in warm weather, will whistle and sing in concert about the streets, linked in brotherly affection, with arms around each other's necks, and a small fry in the rear, endeavouring to mimic harmony […][50]" (Bouws 1966a: 141). Three decades later, Scottish singer David Kennedy witnessed a similar scene: "In the beautiful starry evenings you hear their part-songs, some of the fellows singing at their open windows; and now and again a string of them extending across the broad street and shouting ballads to the accompaniment of guitar and concertina […] the latest

success of the concert-room is reproduced immediately in the streets of the Malay quarter […]" (quoted in Bickford-Smith 1995b: 188). Dance tunes, popular songs, arias from operas were given new interpretations in the parlours, the dance halls, the bars and the streets of Cape Town and small towns that mushroomed in the interior. Making music, singing and playing instruments, imported or home-made, were certainly the most accessible leisure activities to the majority of the Cape Colony inhabitants, and were most popular among the underprivileged. This is one of the reasons why in the 1870s, when Victorian paternalism imagined that the "morality" of the working class could be improved through controlled leisure, "[…] white Cape Town employers promoted 'rational recreation' in the form of ballroom dancing as a way to build 'morale and loyalty' amongst staff, because the control of leisure was seen as a means of imposing order on the city" (Coetzer 2005: 71; see Bickford-Smith et al. 1998: 240). Ballroom dancing indeed became immensely popular with coloured workers, but they appropriated it and invented from it one of their specific genres of music: *langarm*.

The New Year furnace

During the second half of the 19th century, narratives written about leisure, entertainment and social life in Cape Town give us an idea of the particular assemblage of music resulting from two centuries of intertwining. The foundations of mixed, *métisses* or syncretic music were laid in the 17th and 18th centuries, through the interaction of European settlers (mostly Dutch, German and French), Khoikhois and slaves of various origins; elements coming from Great Britain's dance music and popular songs were later grafted upon the stems that began to grow. Then, new influences reached the Cape. The Salvation Army added their particular brand of brass band to the legacy of military orchestras and to the tradition of Moravian brass bands that had been introduced more recently[51]. Salvation Army bands fascinated those who heard them: "Boom! Boom! Boom! Here comes the Salvation Army with the traditional tambourines, bugles and other instruments, they march along a Cape Town Street, their red and gold banners flying proudly. The scene belongs to the time when citizens still regard the 'Army' as a strange innovation, but both its white and coloured members are thoroughly enjoying themselves and the attitude of the onlookers is not unfriendly" (Rosenthal 1960)[52].

Blackface minstrelsy impacted even more deeply on Cape Town's musical culture. Shortly after Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice created the character

of "Jim Crow", and embodied him in song and dance on American stages[53], it became known, discussed and interpreted in Cape Town, sometimes with original lyrics. Groups of "Ethiopian", "Darkie" or "American" Serenaders were formed not long after the original Virginia Minstrels had popularised a format of minstrel show that was to become standard[54]. Serenaders performed on many occasions, but especially on Christmas Eve (Bouws 1966b). Then, for the first time an American troupe of Christy's Minstrels visited the Cape in 1862, and caused a sensation. *The Cape Argus* reporter was particularly enthusiastic: "[…] the fame of the distinguished party who have earned so wide a celebrity as portrayers of Negro character had preceded their arrival in Africa. Besides, the character of the entertainment is eminently suited to the tastes of the people here. Broad caricature, with a recognisable basis of fact and simple melodies, dependent for effect upon the amount of feeling the interpreter can manage to infuse into his rendering of them, are appreciated much more thoroughly than the higher conceptions of dramatists, or the more pretentious efforts of modern operatic musicians. Moreover, so essentially true to life – especially to African life – in many of its phrases, are the 'sketches' of these clever impersonators of Negro character, that they could scarcely fail to please […]"[55]. A few days later, he even heightened the tone of his eulogy and wrote: "Further hearing has convinced us that there is really no scope for criticism, everything being perfect of its kind and deserving of the highest praise. Perfection, in fact, seems the characteristic of all that the Minstrels undertake, whether it be pathos, humour, or true musical effect […]"[56]. The shows given in Cape Town by the Christy Minstrels intensified the minstrel fad and their songs, their instruments (especially the banjo), their costumes, their type of speech and their style of dance became part and parcel of every entertainment among all categories of the population.

Racist prejudices which in the 1860s transpired in the supposed "characterisation" of American blacks and permeated minstrel songs and skits was either shared (as the tenor of *The Cape Argus* supplement's article shows) or considered of little weight in view of the radical novelty introduced by blackface minstrelsy, and of the pleasures that could be derived from it. As a matter of fact, coloured performers adopted the codes of the Minstrel shows[57], and revellers adapted its aesthetics to the New Year festivals. The racist dimension of the Christy Minstrels' spectacle was definitely erased when, in 1890, an African-American troupe of minstrels, Orpheus M. McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers, toured South Africa. *The Cape Argus* reporter was again enraptured: "Singing such as is given by the Virginia Concert Company has never before been heard in this country. Their selection consists of a peculiar kind

of part song, the different voices joining in almost unexpected moments with a wild kind of symphony. At one moment one has the full force of all the voices, and the next is straining the ears listening to a melody which seems to be fading away. It would be useless for others to attempt to sing music of this description, it is without doubt one of the attributes of the race to which they belong, and in their most sacred songs they seem at times inspired as if they were lifting up their voices in praise of God with hopes of liberty […] After each selection the audience were loud in their applause, and encores were frequent."[58] The African chroniclers of King William's Town's (in today's Eastern Cape) *Imvo Zabantsundu* and Edendale's *Inkanyiso's Yase Natal* were as full of praise as their Cape Town colleague (Erlmann 1991: 44). Orpheus McAdoo had been trained at one of the first institutions of learning created for African-Americans after the end of the Civil War, the Hampton Institute, in Virginia. He taught there for several years, and sang with the Hampton Male Quartet before joining the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Both vocal groups specialised in polished interpretations of "Spiritual Songs" created during slavery. With his Virginia Jubilee Singers, he retained certain aspects of the minstrel show format, as standardised by the original (white) Virginia Minstrels, but did away with any obvious or implicit manifestation of racism; the singers interpreted ballads, glees, sentimental songs, Scottish airs, operatic arias and spirituals. The prestige of minstrelsy could not be but increased in the eyes of coloureds and Africans by this dignified rendition of American modern popular music. The influence of McAdoo's conceptions of music and spectacle was eventually disseminated in Cape Town's musical communities by members of the troupe who decided to settle in the city and join local entertainers (Erlmann 1991: 21–53).

The New Year festival rapidly absorbed major features of American minstrelsy: songs, banjo, style of dress and of make-up. The New Year had been celebrated in Cape Town since at least the 1820s, when slaves were given a holiday on 2 January (Martin 1999). By the end of the century it had grown into the most popular event taking place in Cape Town; crowds assembled on 31 December in Adderley Street waiting for the clock to strike twelve, and groups of singers paraded the streets, interpreting the latest successes, but also original Cape Town songs such as "*Daar kom die Alibama*", and playing little sketches, like running to a pretended fire in fire-fighter uniforms. In the 1870s, various clubs catered to coloured Capetonians: sports clubs, social clubs and mutual societies often accommodated singing groups. They marched in the streets on New Year's Eve and attempted to differentiate themselves from other clubs by their costumes, and the colours they wore. These clubs were the predecessors of the carnival troupes

that were going to multiply in the 20th century. They became known as Kaapse Klopse (Clubs of the Cape). New Year Klopse were related to sports clubs, like the Pumpkin Darkies to the Cape of Good Hope Sports Club, the Highborn Coons[59] to the Roslyn Sporting Club or, even more clearly, the Celtics to the Celtics Sporting Club. In Mowbray, a cricket team, the Pirates Cricket Club, was named after a local New Year group. These organised troupes of disguised revellers and choirs, started rehearsing their routines and songs long before the end of December, practised in the streets where their members lived, decorated them with streamers in their colours, and became the main protagonists of the New Year festivals. In 1886, *The Cape Times* reported that '[t]he frivolous coloured inhabitants of Cape Town, who take a holiday on the slightest pretext, indulged their peculiar notions in regard thereto by going about in large bodies dressed most fantastically, carrying 'guys', and headed by blowers of wind and players of stringed instruments, who evoked from their horrible monsters the most discordant and blatant noises that ever deafened human ears. At night time these people added further inflictions upon the suffering citizens of Cape Town in the shape of vocalisation, singing selections from their weird music with variations taken from 'Rule Britannia' and the 'Old Hundredth'. They also carried Chinese lanterns and banners as they proceeded through the streets playing their discords, beating the drum, singing and shouting, and the strange glinting of the combined light from the street lamps and the Chinese lanterns fell upon their dark faces, they seemed like so many uncanny spirits broken loose from – say the adamantine chains of the Nether World. But it was their mode of enjoyment and strange as it is that such noises should be regarded as pleasant, it showed at least the desire on their part to celebrate the birth of a new year."[60] Words used by this writer, "weird", "variations", "discords", "noises", leave no doubt as to the fact that people who were generally considered as gifted musicians chose to celebrate the New Year with non-conventional forms of music, the creolised forms that Cape Town was beginning to produce. The seduction that this original, and sometimes "strange" music could exercise is confirmed by another article printed in *The Cape Argus*: "Many years ago the Cape boys used to delight in marching round the streets of Cape Town and suburbs in bands, armed with guitars, banjos, and mouth organs, etc., with which they discoursed music dear to their hearts. As there was no system of training, the music which emanated from these instruments was often of an exceedingly crude and weird nature, but a few of the bands were really good. On a calm still evening the melodious twang of the banjo accompaniment to some popular cooon [sic] love song would have a soothing effect, and the song of

'Lu-Lu's' love-sick swain would be greeted with great applause. Among these bands were also some fine singers, who although they clipped their words somewhat, put a depth of feeling into their songs, which seems to come naturally to them. On some bank holidays also none were more indefatigable dancers than the dusky beau and his belle, and at Plumstead on the greensward such a scene of animation would be presented as wood [sic] be extremely hard to surpass, even in the Southern States of America. In fancy dress the Cape boy delighted. Give him an old uniform and a faded stove-pipe hat and he would emerge from his house in the most fantastic and gaudy outfit it would be possible to construct."[61]

By the end of the 19th century, Kaapse Klopse regularly participated in what was beginning to look like a New Year carnival. They paraded in the streets wearing all sorts of costumes and make up, singing and playing instruments, guitars, mandolins, banjos, cellos strapped round the neck, and a type of drum made from a small barrel named *ghoema*. After the shows given in Cape Town by Orpheus M. McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers, American influence became rampant. Journalist George Manuel suggests that: "A fresh impetus was given to the carnival spirit by an American Christy Minstrel troupe, the Jubilee singers […] The Jubilee Singers returned to America after their tour. Three of their members, however, remained behind. They were Marshall, Taylor and Allen. They linked up with the famous family of singers, the Dantu[62] brothers, who ran the Cape Of Good Hope Sports Club. Together they formed the first Cape Coon troupe, the Original Jubilee Singers who were dressed in blue tailcoats and wore miniature top hats. Each had an eye circled in red. Their theme song was 'Cherokee Maid'."[63]

Klopse entered in informal competitions and tried to outdo each other by the elegance and colourfulness of their "uniforms" and the quality of their music. For instance, the singers of the Rosslyn Rugby Club from District Six were always keen to confront, and beat, those of the Arabian College from the Bo-Kaap. Klopse members donned "period costumes", firemen[64] or sailors' outfits, bull fighters' attire, and minstrel, or coon, garb: tuxedoes decorated with rosettes, bow tie and top hat. Imitating circuses or Wild West Shows, the Atjas or American Indians (which were possibly introduced by African-American or West Indian migrants), also began to appear, walking on stilts or riding horses. Casual street competitions eventually gave way to a carnival organised in a stadium for paying audiences. It seems that the idea of assembling Kaapse Klopse in a closed arena, and channelling their fortuitous rivalries into organised contests for trophies came from a member of the (white) Green Point Cricket Club, who thought it could help solve the financial problems the Cricket Club was facing. On Tuesday 1 January 1907, the first "Grand New

Year Coloured Carnival" took place at the Green Point Track. Only a few years after the census started differentiating between coloureds and "Bantus", the carnival was presented as played by "coloureds". It indicates that, by 1907, New Year masks, and the music that made them move, sung by choirs and played by string bands, had become the preserve of the coloureds. *The Cape Times* gave a detailed description of the event: "Residents in the Peninsula were on Tuesday afternoon afforded an opportunity of viewing a gathering on the Green Point Track of two or three hundred of those coloured mummers without whom New Year's Day in Cape Town is not complete. The occasion was a coloured carnival, and apparently the event must have been considered one of the main events of the holiday, for close on 7 000 people found the road which led to the Track, packed the grand stands, and bordered the railings for a considerable distance. Naturally the coloured community was in force to cheer their compatriots engaged in the competitions, but there were also upwards of two thousand Europeans on the ground […] There were seven bands of mummers, decked out in the brightest colours, and accompanied by string bands. These formed the procession from the Parade. They created something of a stir on their passage through the streets, and were followed by a huge crowd of all colours, classes, and creeds […] The marching competition was the first item. The troupes paraded on the cinder path, every member of each troupe, with coat tails flying, prancing fantastically along the rattling of the bones, the tum-tum of the drums, the banging of tambourines, and the strumming of banjo and guitar […] Each corps had its marching song. Sung in that half chart, half mumble of the Cape mummer, and almost drowned in the strumming of the string instruments and the cheers of the spectators, it was difficult to ascertain what these were. They were typical coon ditties, and the guitar and banjo formed an effective accompaniment […] Despite the fact that the function was the initial one of its kind, the committee did excellently […] No awards were made on Tuesday, it being understood that the list would be communicated to the press within the next day or so […] In the evening the grounds were illuminated and various competitions were carried out, in the presence of a large crowd. The revels concluded at a late hour […]"[65].

Creolisation Processes

At the dawn of the 20th century, Cape Town is home to several, interrelated genres of creolised music which have been maturing for around 250 years. The conditions in which processes of creolisation developed can be summarised by using the concept of "colonial situation" introduced by Georges Balandier. Although

all colonial societies were divided and hierarchised, and although they were dominated by an exogenous minority who used both the most brutal coercion and persuasion to ensure its power, colonial societies have to be approached as a totality: a complex system of power relationships in which the colonisers' society and the colonised society were intimately entangled. Their enmeshment made colonisers and colonised co-actors and co-authors of the processes of change that affected the colonial situation: their relationships and the representations they had of each other were incessantly readjusted as each component of the colonial society absorbed elements of the culture of the other, and sought to find the most efficient instruments – material, intellectual, spiritual – to, on the side of the colonisers, strengthen their domination, or, on the side of the colonised, resist that domination (Balandier 1951; Smouts 2007: 29). Although the analysis of complex systems of relationship conducted by Georges Balandier on 20th century African colonies can undisputedly be applied to the Cape, in this instance slavery has to be incorporated in the analysis. Slavery exacerbated both violence and intimacy, divisions and contacts: as paradoxical as it may seem – but that is confirmed by American and Caribbean experiences – slavery provided a framework, a "situation", for exchanges and creation from exchanges; slavery launched dynamics that continued to underpin changes in South African society after its abolition.

Daniel Maximin, a poet and novelist from Guadeloupe, insists that what tied, and at the same time distinguished, masters and slaves was their notion of humanhood (Maximin 2006). Both were human beings, but the masters denied the slaves' humanhood (Patterson 1982). Consequently, the latter, once they had decided to survive[66], engaged an unending fight for recovering the sense of their own humanhood. Given the conditions of slavery, the near impossibility of recomposing the cultural systems of their regions of origin, and in particular of continuing to use their mother tongues, slaves had to, on the one hand, bring together every faintest trace that could have been preserved from their original cultures and, on the other, to "borrow" from the masters' culture whatever could be used towards the reconstruction of their humanhood. Some elements of the slaves' original culture were, if not identical, at least compatible, and could therefore be assembled, and the assembling again could be reworked in order to create something new. But that never occurred in isolation from the masters' culture[67]. What could be "marooned"[68] from the masters immediately entered the slaves' cultural combinations and the mixed practices that emerged from these fusions and assemblings were unequally shared between slaves and masters. This is the reason why *bobotie* and *koeksisters* are claimed by descendants of both the slaves

and descendants of the masters, why *vastrap* is danced by both, why Afrikaans is spoken by both, even if measures enforced, especially in the 20th century, to separate groups of human beings according to the colour of their skin led to the development of specificities in the way descendants of slaves and descendants of masters realised and actualised what they had in common.

The Cape Town "situation"

In a situation of "social death" (Patterson 1982), creation is the privileged means of asserting humanhood, because creation is the strongest sign that can prove and evince belonging to humankind (Cassirer 1979, 1991). By creating, slaves claimed their humanhood and manifested it in the faces of those who denied it. According to Daniel Maximin (2006), by "marooning" material for creation in the masters' culture, the slaves established with them a link that showed the masters as human beings in spite of their inhuman behaviour as slavers: cultural "maroonage" symbolically re-placed slaves and masters on the same level, as human beings, by revealing both the humanhood of the slaves and that of the masters, beyond the stark reality of domination and oppression. The interpretation of creation in a situation of slavery as a process jointly re-claiming the humanhood of the slaves and revealing the humanhood of the masters does not amount in any way to downplaying the cruelty and barbarity of slavery. Rather, it aims at understanding better the creative dynamics that developed from this situation, and especially the meaning they acquired later. In particular, its goal is to understand why the results of interactive processes of creation involving, although in different positions, slaves and masters – that is creolised cultural practices – were not acknowledged as such by the masters and their descendants: why members of the white dominant stratum wanted to preserve a fallacious "purity" – biological and cultural – and presented the "gift" of creolised cultural practices to the non-white inhabitants of South Africa. The idea of "gift" comes from Ronald Radano's enlightening re-examination of the racialisation of black music in the United States at the end of the Civil War. Creolised music that enlivened the North as well as the South in the form of dance tunes, minstrel shows and spiritual songs were categorised in black and white, and the creole dimension of what became classified "white" music (country and western, especially) was systematically erased. "The blackness of African-American performance coincided with the escalating desire to group slaves and free blacks into a hardened racial category that would be administered by a new state presence across the South. An unintentional outcome of this was the way racial supremacy also decentered the

exclusivity of an emerging whiteness. By excluding 'Negro music' from the common tongue of American interracial resonance, whites constructed an exclusive domain recognisable as it was inaccessible to their own participation and ownership […] The 'child' called 'Negro music' may have been born of the United States […] yet the reality of that 'music', while recognised as such and while growing out of the interracial participation of whites, could never be acknowledged as a fruitful interracial offspring. As a result, its value, power, and invention lay completely with African-America. This odd turn of events would give to blacks a remarkable gift, inadvertent as it was, and one they proceeded to employ in casting a viable place in America" (Radano 2003: 114–115).

Creolisation processes were not, however, the result of interactions limited to slaves and masters. Those who have been called "free blacks", and Bantu-speaking Africans were also party to it. Political prisoners deported from Batavia were often Muslim aristocrats who held political and spiritual positions of authority in their societies of origin and had resisted Dutch rule. They arrived at the Cape unfree, but not slaves; their retinue and their children were free. They continued performing Muslim rituals in the Sufi way and sowed the seeds of Islam in South Africa (Da Costa & Davids 1994; Dangor 1981). Some of the slaves were also Muslim and seem to have been allowed to hold religious meetings at the Lodge in the 1740s (Shell 1994: 49). A century later, Muslims, free and slave, represented one-third of Cape Town's total population (Shell 1994: 357). The original core of Cape Town Muslims came from the Dutch East Indies, but other believers of the faith certainly arrived at the Cape as slaves from India (Islam was predominant in Bengal, and widespread on the coast of Malabar), and Madagascar (where Muslims were in a minority). Non-Muslim slaves also converted to Islam. Altogether, they formed what was called the "Malay"[69] community which, through internal dynamics and also because of negative stereotyping by the whites, developed feelings of belonging together and pride in cultural specificities. "Islamic institutions, kinship and occupational ties, as well as shared slave heritage, commemorated in annual celebrations on 1 December (emancipation) and 1 January (the traditional slave holiday), and their version of the Afrikaans language served to give people who lived in close proximity to one another in the inner city a sense of community which underpinned Malay ethnicity" (Bickford-Smith 1995a: 73). Although the "Malay" community was mixed, there is no doubt that the first group of Muslim deportees played a determining part in shaping the form that Islam took at the Cape. Cultural practices associated with Sufism, which included vocal and instrumental music, exercised a strong influence. Because of their coherence,

Muslim cultural practices acquired an ascendancy which went far beyond the borders of the "Malay" community, the more so since they were supported by a close-knit group, some members of which were revered because of their education and (relative) wealth.

Finally, the Cape became home to a minority of Bantu-speaking Africans during the second half of the 19th century. Some of them migrated on their own, others were sent by the government in response to demands from farmers in need of labour. For instance, 4 000 African workers were brought to Cape Town from the eastern frontier between April 1878 and January 1879. Indentured labourers also came from Mozambique or from German West Africa (today's Namibia) (Bickford-Smith 1995b: 44). Eventually, "[b]y 1899 Africans were also a familiar presence in Cape Town, estimated at about 10 000. Their origins were as varied as the rest of Cape Town's population. At a baptism in the town on Christmas Eve, there were three Xhosa-speakers, three 'Shangaans', one 'Inhambane', one Zulu, and one Mosotho attending the service" (Bickford-Smith et al. 1998: 213). Their numbers will increase in the course of the 20th century, due in part to migration fluxes from the Transkei. They mixed with other poor people, white and coloureds, and added to already creolised musics original inputs in the form of rural songs and dance tunes, or Africanised Christian hymns.

It is during this period, at the turn of the 20th century, when Cape Town was a real kaleidoscope of people, colours and sounds, that an ideology of separation began to be officially promoted in government circles, under the premiership of Cecil Rhodes. Schools became segregated; franchise requirements were raised in order to diminish the number of non-white voters and prevent the election of black candidates; blacks had to stay in stands specifically allocated to them at the Green Point Common and could not enter exclusive white theatres, cinemas or hotels; new residential areas began to be reserved for whites. In 1902, the government passed the Native Reserve Locations Act and Africans living in the town centre were forcibly removed to Ndabeni, where they lived in appalling conditions, before being relocated once again, this time to Langa in 1923 (Bickford-Smith 1995b: 138–163). A few families managed to remain in Cape Town, and particularly in District Six, but the 1902 Native Reserve Locations Act marked the beginning of a policy of systematic separation not only of Africans and whites but also of Africans and coloureds. One of the pretexts used to justify the expulsion of Africans from the city centre was the discovery of bubonic plague at the docks in February 1901, which generated racist hysteria. Previously, the smallpox epidemic of 1882, grafted onto stereotypes of coloureds and "Malays" as keeping unhygienic habits, had

generated a "sanitation syndrome" which led to blaming black Capetonians for any health hazard affecting the city (Swanson 1977). Health services were organised to cater separately for whites, coloureds, "Mozambiquans" and "Malays" (Bickford-Smith 1995b:100–106). Although coloureds, including "Malays", were not removed from the heart of Cape Town and continued to constitute the majority in Cape Town, or in certain neighbourhoods of Claremont, such as Harfield Village, they became increasingly hit by official or *de facto* discrimination. The 1904 census laid the foundation on which segregation was to be consolidated in the 20th century. It crystallised the division of Cape Town in three "clearly defined race groups": Europeans, coloureds and Africans (Bickford-Smith 1995b: 205). A "three-tier social hierarchy" (Bickford-Smith 1995b: 210) was beginning to materialise at the beginning of the 20th century; decade after decade, until 1990, it will indeed become more and more rigid, and every attempt at making separation tighter will be accompanied by intensified violence. Yet, just as slavery never hampered the growth of creolisation dynamics, 20th century segregation did not stop their advance; but it modified the situation in which they could operate and changed the perceptions the diverse parties to their entanglements had of their outcomes.

From blending to creolisation

Creolisation processes that were to affect not only the Cape Colony but the whole of South Africa were set in motion in the Cape Town "situation" between the 17th and 19th centuries. They resulted from initial contacts and exchanges between European colonists, Khoikhoi inhabitants of the southern tip of Africa, slaves and Bantu-speaking Africans. The Europeans came first from Holland (some of the Dutch officials having been already "acculturated" in Batavia), Germany and France, then from Great Britain and Ireland. Between 1652 and 1808, about 63 000 slaves were brought from four main regions. Africans (from West and Central Africa, down to Angola, and Mozambique) constituted the largest group (26,4 per cent) and figured in large numbers at the beginning and end of the slavery period; Indians represented 25,9 per cent and came from Bengal, the coast of Coromandel (south-eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent), and the coast of Malabar (south-western coast of the Indian subcontinent); Madagascans provided regular contingents of slaves during the whole period and 25,1 per cent of the total number of slaves imported at the Cape; finally 22,7 per cent of the slaves consisted in people inhabiting territories included in today's Indonesia (Bali, Java, Sulawesi and the Maluku islands) (Shell 1994: 41). Slaves were obviously of

diverse origins; they did not speak the same languages, did not eat the same foods, nor did they pray to the same god(s). The only axis around which a more or less coherent cultural ensemble could be reconstituted was Islam – in its Indonesian, and probably predominantly Sulawesi version – and Malay languages associated with it, which infused Afrikaans in the 19th century (Davids 1991), although the Islam-Malay languages cluster never remained immune from external influences.

The first step of the creolisation process was an initial *métissage* – blending, syncretism – made up of elements of the cultures of the various people cohabiting at the Cape – masters, slaves and the Khoikhoi. This *métissage* intensified as the number of locally born slaves increased. They already represented about a third of the total in the 1740s and became a majority in the 1760s (Shell 1994: 47). The *métissage* phase, as far as we can reconstitute it, involved two movements: the fusion of elements of the original slaves' cultures which could have been retained and which were compatible (again, Islam which was shared among part of the Indonesian, Indian and Madagascan slaves probably served as a ground on which original practices could grow); and appropriation – maroonage – of elements of the masters' cultures.

The first movement – fusion – has to remain hypothetical since there seems to be no source mentioning it explicitly, except for the description of a Sunday Dance given by W.W. Bird (Ross 1989: 45); yet, comparisons with what happened in North America and the West Indies make it highly plausible. Singing based on responsorial (call and response) structures existed in European, African and Sufi musics. Melodic ornamentation is usual in most musical cultures, including those of Africa, India, Indonesia and Europe. Popular European (especially, but not exclusively, Celtic), African, Indian and Indonesian musics are based on modes which, although not identical, operate on the same principles. Finally all dance music, wherever it is made, demands some form of rhythmic intensity; rhythmic patterns indeed vary from place to place and period to period, but rhythm is ubiquitous. There seems to be enough evidence to argue that amalgamation of elements of Indonesian, Indian, Madagascan, African and European musics was possible and did take place at the Cape.

The second movement – appropriation – is abundantly documented. Appropriation is always transformative; at the Cape, it took place in conjunction with amalgamation; consequently the combination of amalgamation and appropriation became the engine that thrust the process of creolisation: *métissage* – a mixture in which the specificity of the original components can still be discerned – was transcended, and yielded to the unpredictable energy of overcoming (*dépassante imprévisible*) that characterises creolisation (Glissant 1997c: 16; 37). The first signs that creolising musical practices were brewing at the Cape

have been found in the 18th century; they were to multiply in the 19th century. Appropriated and transformed musics circulated between the city and the rural areas, among whites, Khoikhois, slaves and Bantu-speaking Africans, thereby intensifying mixing and blending. New material was introduced into these early manifestations of creolising musics in the form of British and Celtic songs and dance tunes, missionary hymns and brass bands (military and religious). Finally, the innovations which blackface minstrel shows brought to the conception of entertainment supplied an aesthetic of modernity and universality that permeated a large part of the Cape's creolising musics at the end of the 19th century.

The Madagascar enigma

Discourses on the origins of coloured Capetonians usually emphasise two lineages: from the Khoikhoi and from the slaves. When a slave descent is put forward, its source is frequently traced back to Indonesia. Africa is sometimes mentioned, especially since the 1990s. India hardly figures in these genealogies. And Madagascar seems to have been totally forgotten. This type of exercise – trying to reconstruct genealogies through the maze of filiations created by mixing and blending people of so many diverse origins – may seem futile from a purely historical point of view. It has been possible to compute a reliable estimation of the origins of the slaves, and to indicate with some accuracy the periods during which certain regions provided proportionally more slaves than others (Shell 1994: 40–41), but these estimations deal with slaves as a group, not as individuals. People brought from particular areas mixed – had, willingly or forcibly, sexual relations, and children – with people coming from other areas; they eventually lost most of their cultural memory, and retained what could enter in the production of new – *métisse*, blended, or creolising – cultural practices; consequently, memories of the cultures of origin faded away while creolised practices tended to become prevalent. Multiple and intense mixing created a large number[70] of persons with a heritage of miscegenation. However, in contemporary South Africa, where questions of identity are hotly debated and attempts at reconfiguring group identities are flourishing (Bekker 1993; Bekker, Dodds & Khosa 2001; Zegeye 2001), aspirations to retie with particular groups of putative forebears are not meaningless.

The Khoikhoi occupied the Cape region before Europeans arrived; they were the first occupants and, in this respect, their descendants may claim a particular position in South African society, and possibly special rights. Indonesians deported to the Cape were not all slaves, but some of them were political prisoners, often

aristocrats and Shaykhs. They played a determining role in spreading Islam and keeping it in the Sufi way; tracing back one's ancestry to them amounts to including oneself in a prestigious lineage. In post-apartheid South Africa, coloureds who assert ties with black Africans show their willingness to overcome barriers and prejudices that have been erected to try and oppose them. An Indian origin does not seem to be very attractive, maybe because it could create confusion with the people who were classified "Indians" and descend from indentured workers brought to South Africa during the second half of the 19th century (Vally 2001). Finally it seems that the contribution to South African demography and culture of about a quarter of the slaves who came from Madagascar has been totally overlooked[71].

Madagascar was a hub of slave routes in the Indian Ocean (Razafiarivony 2005; Vink 2003). Slaves were imported to the island and exported from there. During the Company's rule, that is during the first period of slavery at the Cape, Madagascar was the main source of slaves: "[…] it is plain that the major single regional source for Cape slaves during the Company period was Madagascar […] No fewer than 66 per cent of the Company's direct imports came from Madagascar and officials and burghers also acquired many Malagasy slaves from transient merchants" (Armstrong & Worden 1989: 121). They were usually appreciated: they were considered "strong and agile", "naturally strong, diligent, quick of comprehension and not malicious" and mainly used as gardeners and farm workers (Schoeman 2007: 17, 116, 123; Shell 1994: 54, 234). It seems that slaves originating from Madagascar, although coming from various regions of the island[72], were able to retain some elements of their culture, including their language: "A further characteristic of Madagascan slaves was that they remained remarkably faithful to their own language, and interpreting in Malagasy took place at the Cape from at least 1706 until at least 1766" (Schoeman 2007: 123). During the VOC period, and even under British rule, Madagascans constituted a large proportion of the slaves; after the abolition of slavery, Madagascans continued to be landed at the Cape as "Prize Negroes" (Loos 2004: 47). They could have originated from a region of the island or from another country, Mozambique for instance, yet it seems that most of them spoke mutually understandable dialects of the Malagasy language, and that it allowed them to keep the language alive in Cape Town at least until the second half of the 18th century.

The contribution of Madagascans to processes of creolisation was certainly compounded by the fact that their language and cultures shared many traits with Indonesian languages and cultures. The Malagasy language belongs to the family of Malayo-Polynesian languages, to which also belong languages spoken

in Indonesia. More generally, Madagascar was, in part, populated by people of Indonesian origins, and its culture shares a number of traits with that of Indonesia. The music of Madagascar results from interactions between Malayan, Indonesian and African musics (Nketia 1986: 9) and the instrument that symbolises it best, the tube zither *valiha*, is of Indonesian origin (Domenichini-Ramiaramanana 1984). Madagascan music incorporated influences from Portugal and the Islamic world. It also entertained connections with African musics from the east coast. It ensues that many traits from Madagascan musics were identical or at least compatible with characteristics of musics brought from Indonesia, Africa and the Sufi world, and that creative combinations enmeshing them should have been quite unproblematic. There is consequently every reason to consider that Madagascans made an important contribution to the burgeoning South African culture of the 17th and 18th centuries, and indeed to the musical mix that brewed in those centuries, although definite information is still lacking on what they actually delivered.

* * *

At the dawn of the 20th century, a creole culture began to emerge in Cape Town. It affected all the inhabitants of the Mother City at a time when segregation hardened. Racial separation, the consolidation of hierarchies positioning supposedly different "race groups" along scales of civilisation and purity, and the stereotyping of people arbitrarily put in these groups, would indeed remodel creolisation processes and channel their dynamics within each group. However, even the rigidity and brutality of apartheid will never stop contacts, interactions and creations derived from contacts and interactions. Intensified cross-pollination between original South African genres and foreign ones will bring new energies to processes of creolisation underpinned by internal cross-fertilisation. Eventually new – quite unpredictable in the 19th century – musical genres will develop. They will be associated with particular groups, as constituted by *de facto* and *de jure* segregation; yet they will entertain close relationships and evolve in concert. Musics performed during the New Year festivals, including *nederlandsliedjies* and *moppies*, will appear as the preserve of those classified as coloureds. But *langarm*, a type of coloured dance music, will share several features with *boeremusiek*, especially the *vastrap*, which did not play an insignificant role in the invention of *marabi*, the source of African jazz. Hymns composed by African musicians, intertwining rural African choral practices and missionary hymnody, will give birth to a large repertoire of

Christian African songs known as *amakwaya*. Muslim religious music sung in Sufi rituals or played during *khalifa*[73] rituals will incorporate western harmonies and instruments; they will beget spiritual repertoires, such as contemporary *qasidah*, and secular genres, such as the *nederlandsliedjies*. The 20th century will again be a period of overlapping, mixing and invention.

Notes

1. Vasco da Gama's diary, quoted in Arom 1991: 46; see also: Boonzaier et al., 1996: 55.
2. This paragraph is largely based on Martin 2006b.
3. The words *mestis*, then *métis* respectively appeared in French in the 13th and 17th centuries. Formed from the Latin *mixticius* (born from a mixed race), the latter was probably adapted from the Portuguese *mestiço* and the Spanish *mestizo* (see Bonniol & Benoist 1994; Bonniol 2001). Since there exists no equivalent for these words in English (half-bred or cross-bred being inappropriate here), I shall use, whenever necessary, and according to the context, the French, Spanish and Portuguese words.
4. An English translation of this text is accessible on line at: http://feastofhateandfear.com/archives/andrade.html.
5. Dr Álvaro J. da Costa Pimpão, introduction to Freyre 1952: 1–2.
6. Interestingly, Homi Bhabha, apparently taking his information from a novel by Nadine Gordimer (*My Son's Story*, London, Bloomsbury, 1990), proposes an essentialised vision of hybridity à propos of those who were classified coloureds in South Africa when he uses the singular to affirm "[…] the coloured South African subject represents a hybridity, a difference 'within', a subject that inhabits the rim of an in-between reality" (Bhabha 1994: 19). This assertion denotes an inability to analytically distinguish between the effects of segregation ("the rim of an in-between reality") and the capacity of "cultural radiance" built as part of a survival strategy (Turgeon 2003: 200), that transgresses and transcends barriers erected to prevent social and cultural interactions (Coplan 2008; Martin 1999, 2007).
7. Used, as explained Édouard Glissant, "[…] to destroy the brains of a community, to persuade it, from the inside, that its calling is exhausted […] and this very same community withers in accepting its shame (*le métissage*), unable to promote and give a positive value to the composite (which does not mean here the ill-assorted)" (Glissant 1997a: 213).
8. Hybrid: "Offspring from a cross between individuals of two different species, or two inbred lines within a species. In most cases, hybrids between species are infertile and unable to reproduce sexually. In plants, however, doubling of the chromosomes can restore the fertility of such hybrids. Hybrids between different genera are extremely rare" (*Webster's Interactive Encyclopedia*, Chatsworth (CA), Cambrix Publishing, 1998, CD Rom); for a brief presentation of the biological understanding of hybridisation, see: Demarly 2000.
9. Contradictions between the statements they make in *In Praise of Creoleness* and their practice as novelists have been noted in: Price & Price 1997 and Gyssels 2003.
10. As far as I have been able to trace the only work by Édourad Glissant to have been translated into English, apart from *Caribbean Discourse* is *Poetics of Relation* (Glissant 1997b), which probably explains why most English-writing authors are not aware of the development of Glissant's ideas on creolisation. Consequently, in the following paragraphs, all quotations from Glissant's texts will be in my translation. However, given the complexity and idiosyncrasies of Glissant's style, I shall also give the original French texts in the endnotes.
11. In *Poetics of Relation*, Édouard Glissant starts writing relation with a capital R.
12. "*La créolisation ne limite pas son œuvre aux seules réalités créoles des Archipels ni à leurs langages naissants. Le monde se créolise, il ne devient pas créole, il devient cet inextricable et cet imprédictible que tout processus de créolisation porte en lui et qui ne se soutient ni ne s'autorise d'aucun modèle. Ailleurs, ni la raide hybridation, ni le seul métissage, ni le multi-quoi-que-ce-soit.*"
13. "[…] *la Relation n'instruit pas seulement le relayé mais aussi le relatif et encore le relaté* […] *La Relation relie (relaie), relate*" (Glissant 1990: 40; 187).

14. Poetics here refers both to the freedom of imagination granted by poetry and to its Greek root *poiêsis*, creation, fabrication; it stresses the power of creation that imagination is endowed with.
15. "[…] la poétique de la relation suppose qu'à chacun soit proposée la densité (l'opacité) de l'autre. Plus l'autre résiste dans son épaisseur ou sa fluidité (sans s'y limiter), plus sa réalité devient expressive, et plus la relation féconde."
16. "[…] cette énorme insurrection de l'imaginaire qui portera enfin les humanités à se vouloir et à se créer (en dehors de toute injonction morale) ce qu'elles sont en réalité : un changement qui ne finit pas, dans une pérennité qui ne se fige pas."
17. Documents on the history of music in Cape Town can be found in my *Chronicles of the Kaapse Klopse*, available on line at: http://www.criticalworld.net/projet.php?id=47&type=0
18. Including: Bickford-Smith et al. 1998; De Kock 1950; Elphick & Giliomee 1992; Mason 2003; Ross 1983; Schoeman 2007; Shell 1994; Worden 1985; Worden & Crais eds 1994.
19. Acculturation is understood here according to the definition provided by anthropologist Roger Bastide: "[…] processes that unfold when two cultures are in contact and mutually impact on one another". This implies that acculturation always affect all parties to an encounter and is always transformative (Bastide 1998).
20. Also spelled *gora*, a type of musical bow sounded by the breath (Rycroft 1984a).
21. Translated from the Afrikaans by François Verster.
22. Ibid.
23. Henri Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806*, vol I, Berlin, 1811; vol. 2, Berlin, 1812.
24. Where Victor de Kock writes "men", the French translation of Lichtenstein's text – given p. 426 of the *Histoire générale des voyages, ou nouvelle collection des relations de voyage par mer et par terre*, mis en ordre et complété jusqu'à nos jours par C.A. Walckenaer, membre de l'Institut, tome XVII, À Paris, chez Lefèvre, libraire, rue de l'Éperon, n°6, 1829 – says *affranchis*, that is manumitted slaves.
25. "Play a Little".
26. A mission station founded in 1824 by members of the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Victoria Division of the Cape Province (now Eastern Cape).
27. On Ntsikana's *Great Hymn*, see: Bokwe 2005; Dargie 2005.
28. An instrument that is called ravenkinje
29. On the *ramkie*, see: Kirby 1939, 1966; Rycroft 1984b.
30. On the family of plucked and bowed lutes named *rabāb*, see: Sadie ed. 1984: 177–183.
31. That the possible Indonesian ancestor of the *ramkie* was an already creolised lute is suggested by the fact that *rabāb* is used in Indonesia to name a type of spike fiddle. The transition from *rabāb* to *rebeca pequena*, from a fiddle to a plucked lute, may result from the application and transformation of the name used for one instrument (*rabāb*) to another (derived from the *kroncong*), or might also signal the invention of a new plucked lute combining elements from Arabic, Asian and European instruments (such as the guitar or the mandore), two hypotheses which are not mutually exclusive.
32. "A curious feature of his ra'king [a *ramkie* made by a 'Malay guitar player named Suleiman'] was that three of the strings stretched along the full length of the instrument, but the fourth string only went half-way, the peg to which it was attached being set in a hole in the 'shoulder' of the neck. This suggests very forcibly some relatively recent development, the American negro banjo being characterised by this feature" (Kirby 1939: 483–484).
33. The *kabôsy* is found all over the island of Madagascar, where it is also known as *gitara*, *mandoliny* or *mandolina*; it is also probably the result of a local adaptation of foreign instruments, such as

the European guitar and mandolin, and the Yemenite *qanbūs*; it may have been brought, or re-made, in South Africa by slaves of Madagascan origin (Randrianary 2001: 111).

34. Christine Winberg refers to: Du Plessis (I.D.), *Die Bydrae von die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Volkslied*, Kaapstad, Nasionale Pers, 1935: 41.
35. Quoting from: Mentzel (O.F.), *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, translated from the German by H.J. Mandelbrote, G.V.Marais and J. Hoge, Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1921, 1925, 1944.
36. Translated from the Afrikaans by François Verster.
37. Tuan Guru was the name under which became known Abdullah Kadi Abdu Salaam, a prince from the Moluccas who had been exiled to the Cape in 1767; he re-wrote there, from memory, a complete copy of the Qu'ran and became the leader of the small Muslim community that developed in the 18th century (Davids 1994; Elphick & Shell 1992: 192).
38. Richard Elphick and Robert Shell quote: Thunberg (Charles) 1795, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779*, London, I: 132–134.
39. The *dikhr* (remembrance, or invocation of God) consist in chanting the names of God, or formulas taken from the holy scriptures; among Sufi brotherhoods chants are performed in call and response, with strong variations of intensity, and are usually accompanied by body movements, both the chanting and the movements being conducive to a trance state.
40. "Entirely indigenous forms performed in new colonial and urban contexts" (Coplan 2008: 67).
41. "Blending of musical materials and forms from two or more cultures, resulting in a new form that is more than the sum of its diverse parts" (Coplan 2008: 68).
42. Bird (W.W.) 1823, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, London.
43. Freedom granted by the abolition of slavery was not immediately total and slaves had to undergo a four-year period of "apprenticeship" before they were fully emancipated.
44. "Abolition of Slavery, The First of December", *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, 6 December 6 1834 (reproduced in: "Emancipation day and the press, 1834–1984", *Kronos* 9, 1984: 97).
45. "There flies the English flag".
46. Translated from the Afrikaans by François Verster.
47. Translated from the Dutch by François Verster.
48. P. van der Schyff was probably the same person mentioned above as the leader of the "popular native band". There have been several generations of musicians named van der Schyff in Cape Town including the "eccentric" classical guitarist Neefa van der Schyff (1947–2006); see the obituary published in *The Cape Times*: http://www.capetimes.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=271&fArticleId=3352565
49. Lucie, Lady Duff-Gordon (1821–1869) was an English writer who spent several years at the Cape, hoping the climate would help her recover from TB, before going to Egypt. From both countries, she wrote a rich correspondence which abounds in interesting insights into the social life of the places where she resided.
50. Translated from the Afrikaans by François Verster.
51. The Moravian style of playing brass instruments was introduced to South African congregations with the dedication of the Genadendal Training School on 12 September 1838 (http://www.moravianbrass.co.za/index.php?page_name=more&menu_id=3&submenu_id=3; accessed 16/03/2010).
52. Caption for an etching by Heinrich Egersdörfer published in the *South African Illustrated News*, 11 October 1884: 316, and originally titled: "Salvation Army, Street Scene, Cape Town".

53. Thomas D. Rice invented Jim Crow at the end of the 1820s. He presented him in New York in 1832, and in London in 1836. The first printed score of the song was published in the early 1830s by E. Riley with a picture of Thomas D. Rice as Jim Crow on the cover.
54. On the history of blackface minstrelsy in the United States, see: Bean et al. eds 1996; Cockrell 1997; Lhamon 1998; Nathan 1977.
55. "Christy's Minstrels", Supplement to *The Cape Argus*, Thursday, 21 August 1862: 5.
56. "The Christy Minstrels", *The Cape Argus*, Tuesday, 26 August, 1862: 2.
57. An advertisement published in *The Cape Mercantile Advertiser* on 20 September 1869, announces that an "Amateur Coloured Troupe" will present a "Grand Entertainment" at the Old-Fellow's Hall, Plein Street, and that the programme will include: "Overture, Lucretia Borgia", "When you and I were young, Maggie", "De Darkie's Jubilee", "Malingo Hoy, the Cape Town Coolie (Dutch-Mozambique Lingo)", and an Ethiopian scene entitled the "Young Scamp"; the "Dutch-Mozambican Lingo" probably represented an indigenous addition to the "classical" minstrel show.
58. "Jubilee Singers at the Vaudeville", *The Cape Argus*, Tuesday 1July 1890.
59. The word "coon" comes from the vocabulary of blackface minstrelsy. An abbreviation of racoon, it suggested that African-Americans looked and behaved like the animal. It appears in the title of many minstrel or "coon" songs, like "Zip Coon". In the United States "coon" is derogatory and insulting. However, at the Cape, its racist origin has been forgotten by most carnival organisers and revellers and "coon" has become synonymous with the carnival mask. Participants in the carnival proclaim "I am a coon" and troupe captains easily speak of their "coons". Recently, political correctness has spurred the replacement of "coon" with "minstrel" or Kaapse Klopse. But it has not drastically affected the language of a majority of troupe members and leaders who continue to use "coon" without any qualms.
60. *The Cape Times*, Monday, 4 January 1886.
61. *The Cape Argus*, 1 January 1908: 5.
62. Or Dante, founders of a lineage of Klopse organisers and coaches, whose descendants are still active today.
63. George Manuel, "Coon custom's roots in slavery", *The Cape Times*, 30 December 1979.
64. George Manuel recounts that the Original Jubilee Singers were later transformed into "The Darktown Fire Brigade – a burlesque version of the real fire brigade whose uniform was used as a model for the coon costumes. The helmets were lent to them by the fire brigade and the local police. A big feature of this troupe was its parading with a real fire engine of those days – a 'pomperlompie' – complete with pipes and canvas buckets" (ibid.: 6).
65. *The Cape Times*, Thursday, 3 January 1907: 7
66. The first choice open to the slave is to die – to commit suicide, as happened frequently on slave ships or upon arrival at the land of deportation – or to live and survive.
67. This process is similar to what occurred in the United States; see: Martin 1991.
68. According to Haitian writer René Despestre, "maroonage", that is poaching in the masters' culture, allowed the slaves to "[…] make thrive within themselves a universal sense of freedom and human identity" (Depestre 1980: 99–100).
69. Not because, as is sometimes believed, they originated from Malaysia, but because they originally spoke languages belonging to the Malay family.
70. Especially if the mixed ancestry of a great number of supposedly "white" South Africans is taken into account; see: Heese 2006.
71. One of the very few evocations of Madagascar as a source of slaves, and culture, can be heard in Taliep Petersen and David Kramer's musical *Ghoema*, when, in "Blue Sky", Carmen Maarman and Zenobia Kloppers sing: "Take me back where I belong, Madagascar is where

I'm from, it's where I want to be" (*Ghoema, Original Cast Recording*, Cape Town, Blik Music, 2005 [CD Blik 12], vol. 1 # 3).

72. Madagascan slaves were taken from Antongil Bay (north-east, 1641–1647), then from St. Augustine's Bay (south, near Tulear); after 1676 and for a century, from Mazalagem (north-west) (Armstrong & Worden 1989).

73. According to Achmat Davids *khalifa* is: "[…] a sword game that is characterised by the hitting of a sharp sword across the arms or body or by driving sharp skewers through the thick flesh of the face without causing blood to flow. The exercise is accompanied by drum-beating and an almost hypnotic chanting in Arabic" (Da Costa & Davids: 63). It demonstrates the strength of the spirit compared to that of the body. *Khalifa* was performed during slavery and may have been used to persuade slaves to adhere to Islam. This ritual has been said to be of south-eastern origins (Jeppie 1996). It is actually practised in many countries where Sufism is influential, from the Maghreb to Eastern Asia, and is a testimony of the complexity which lies at the root of South African Islam.

CHAPTER THREE

Separation and Interweaving in the 20th Century: Futile Separations

In 1901, the authorities took the pretext of an outburst of plague to expel Africans from the centre of Cape Town. Most of them had been living in District Six and were removed to Uitvlugt, which was renamed Ndabeni, before they were transferred again to Langa in the 1920s and 1930s. The displacement of the small number of Africans inhabiting Cape Town at the dawn of the 20th century signalled the beginnings of a systematic policy of segregation that would be intensified decade after decade and would culminate with apartheid, and eventually the razing of District Six. The Cape Census of 1904 made explicit the division around which South African society was being organised: it distinguished between three "race groups" – white, "Bantu" and coloured – the latter being defined as an intermediate category between the first two. Africans had to dwell within the confines of clearly delineated townships. Most coloureds lived in neighbourhoods where they formed the majority: District Six, Walmer Estate, Schotsche Kloof (Bo-Kaap), or in smaller enclaves within predominantly white districts, such as Sea Point or Harfield Village in Claremont (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 19–20; Goldin 1987: 13). "The exclusion of Bantu-speaking people from the category Coloured and the development of a separate category 'Bantu' marked the triumph of social-Darwinism in South Africa. The growing awareness of ethnic identity served to entrench within the Western Cape a racially hierarchical ordering of society in which Coloured people were seen to occupy a position intermediate between 'European' and 'Bantu'" (Goldin 1987: 26). Racist ideologists will always find it difficult to "[…] solve the unsolvable problem, the absolutely unsolvable problem as to what actually is a pure white person, what is a pure Coloured person (if you can get a pure Coloured person) and what is the subtle mixture between the two, and which is which and which is the other"[1]. This is one of the reasons why the Population Registration Act of 1950 could but

provide a contradictory definition in which the supposedly biological (a race) was based on social categorisation. Its Section Five stated that coloureds are "[…] persons who are, or who are generally accepted as members of the race or class known as Cape Coloured" (Goldin 1987: xxvi).

Vague as it was, this definition became effective in consolidating differences, and most of all feelings of difference. Difference was spatially constructed as people belonging to distinct categories had to live in areas specially demarcated for them. It was reinforced by the relative privileges coloureds were granted over Africans, especially by the colour bar implemented at work places, whereby coloureds could access semi-skilled or skilled positions, when most Africans could only get unskilled jobs. Difference was compounded when the Western Cape was declared a preference area for coloureds. The "Coloured labour preference policy" signified that Africans had no legitimate place in the Western Cape (Goldin 1987: 95–105). Consequently, the government tried to keep the African population in Cape Town at a minimum and strictly controlled migration fluxes from other regions. The small benefits coloureds were allocated because of their "intermediate position" sharpened the feelings of those who perceived themselves as not only different from Africans, but superior to them. Suspicion developed between Africans and coloureds. The racists in power exacerbated it by disseminating negative stereotypes of the Other: to coloureds, Africans were shown as primitive "kaffirs", with an inclination for violence; to Africans, coloureds were presented as people without a past or history, without manners or decency, characteristics which would eventually be connoted by the name used to designate them in isiXhosa: *amaLawu*.

Segregation, suspicion and prejudices caused people put in different categories to socialise mostly with individuals belonging to the same category, and consequently to maintain established cultural practices and confine new practices within their own group. Segregation and apartheid generated endogenous dynamics of creation, which resulted, in the course of the 20th century, in the emergence of original styles and genres of music. This is why it still seems necessary to begin by examining musical developments within the social categories established by racist engineering in South Africa, whatever abhorrence one may feel for the principles underlying these categories. New genres and styles were invented within the boundaries imposed by segregation and apartheid; they were considered exclusive to the members of those categories that had been delineated. But people thrown together in one category, and compelled to dwell in the same space, to go to the same schools and to intermarry, developed feelings of belonging together and shared interests. Indeed members of these categories, which progressively became

social groups[2], legitimately claimed creations that took place within the confines of the categories they were classified into, creations that demonstrated their talent and flair for innovation. And yet, as will appear in the following paragraphs, barriers erected to divide and isolate people included in racial categories were never totally waterproof. Music offered the means by which to cross boundaries, and opened up spaces for creative cooperation and blending: music never respected "racial" delimitations, and creative musicians always looked beyond the horizon of the "culture" they had been assigned to find ideas and material they could use to develop their own modes of expression. As far as South African music is concerned, separation cannot be dissociated from intertwinement. This is why, in a survey of musics that were created within groups separated and labelled African, coloured or white, these have to be first considered separately during the period under review; their evolution was, at least in part, the result of internal dynamics of innovation. But it must immediately be underlined that these dynamics can be understood only in so far as all the entanglements – South African and international – they were part of are also taken into consideration, which leads to a second survey focusing on "fertile intertwining" (chapter 4). Coloured, white, African musics actually provided channels of exchanges and inter-fecundation that thwarted racism and apartheid.

A careful examination of the history of Cape Town's musics provides ample evidence of this. Cape Town is not only the Mother City of South Africa, it is also the cradle of South African music. With the advent of the mineral revolution, creole styles played in Cape Town at the end of the 19th century were rapidly disseminated in the rest of the country. Kimberley became a hotbed of multiracial interaction as diggers from many regions, indeed many parts of the world, flocked there in the hope of getting rich instantly. Musicians from the Cape joined the rush and offered their particular performative styles to crowds of many hues eager for entertainment. In the particular conditions obtaining in the mine compounds, David B. Coplan considers that "[…] among the varied strains it was the coloureds, arriving from the Cape with traditions of professional musicianship extending back more than two hundred years, who most strongly influenced early African music and dance. In Kimberley, coloured artisans, drivers, and servants played their blends of Khoikhoi, Malay, European, and American popular music on the violin or guitar for anyone disposed to listen and willing to offer a coin" (Coplan 2008: 20). *Tickey draai*[3] and *vastrap*[4] became favourites; coloureds and whites continued to play them and dance to them well into the 20th century, while Africans blended them with their own melodies (Coplan 2008: 21). Capetonians discovered African

rural music and African Christian hymns. Coloureds and Africans both relished in American styles of performance, saturated with elements of blackface minstrelsy[5]. What happened in Kimberley also happened in other mining towns: in Vrededorp, for instance, where the camp originally organised for coloureds soon welcomed people of all origins (Coplan 2008: 20). Twentieth century urban popular music developed from blending that took place in and around the mine compounds, in which Cape Town musicians played a determining role as "cultural brokers" (Coplan 2008: 21).

Music among the Coloureds

Back in Cape Town, music remained an indispensable ingredient of social life, especially in the coloured communities. Music played by various types of orchestras, singing and dancing were part and parcel of the New Year festivals[6]; musicians and singers prepared for competitions months in advance. Dancing was a favourite pastime: balls were organised every weekend; they allowed musicians to make a living, or more often, when they had another job, which was quite frequent, to supplement their income. Music accompanied all social functions, especially weddings: the families of the bride and the bridegroom rivalled in singing, waiters were hired because of their voices and of their knowledge of the latest popular tunes (Martin 1999: 72–73), guests expected to be entertained and dance.

Musical films were extremely popular, long queues formed in front of the bioscopes (film theatres) where they were shown; young boys, who had managed to learn the songs featured in the movie, harmonised them at the entrance and were always given a few coins. Indeed the same songs and dance tunes circulated through all music occasions. In the 1940s and 1950s, explains Carol A. Muller: "The more conventionally musical renditions could be heard on the radio and through live performance at home, singing in the church and at school. There was always live music on the streets, live and mediated musical performances in 'bob' parties[7] and the cinema/bioscope on Saturdays, and the live dance bands sounds of teenage bop clubs. So a song first heard in a movie on a Saturday afternoon could be heard repeatedly in the following week. It could be heard over the air, on record, and performed live in a cover version by local dance bands or in subsequent talent contests held at the cinema and fundraising events organised in various churches and community halls" (Muller 2008: 175).

Bands

From the very beginnings of colonisation, military bands contributed to Cape Town's musical life. They did not limit themselves to playing military airs, but also performed, at balls and at concerts, a repertoire of transcriptions of European classical pieces. They exercised a strong influence on musical tastes, and were a source of instruments and tuition for those who wanted to become musicians. David B. Coplan suggests that they provided the foundations for the development of different types of social dancing at the Cape: "Military marching bands also made a strong impression, and Coloured bands paraded in the streets during the traditional New Year festivities as early as 1823. This aspect of British influence led to the development of two traditions of Coloured social dancing. The first was a relatively high status dress ball or 'social'. The second was a more popular Anglo-Afrikaans style of 'square dancing' distantly related in form to that which developed from British sources in America, and which remains popular in Coloured communities today" (Coplan 2008: 17). The influence of military bands was enhanced by the development of Christian brass bands. The German Lutheran missions, the Moravian Brothers, the Salvation Army, and the Anglican Lads' Brigade created a tradition that eventually gave birth to the Christmas Choirs.

Christmas Choirs

These brass bands are called "choirs", because, at the beginning, in the 1920s they were vocal groups (Bruinders 2006–2007) who used to go out on Christmas Eve and sing carols for their friends in front of their houses. They became orchestras, playing mostly string instruments in the 1930s, and eventually switching to wind instruments in the 1960s. Originally linked to particular congregations, they used to parade in the streets at Christmas time, and play whenever a church occasion asked for it. Every band had uniforms made in its colours and, when marching, was preceded by a drum major. It seems that casual competitions between Christmas Choirs started very early. They were formalised when, in 1942, most bands joined to create the City and Suburban Christmas Bands' Union. Later, other unions were launched, and today there are more than fifty Christmas Choirs in the Western Cape, affiliated to seven band unions, themselves gathered in the South African United Christmas Bands' Board (SAUCBB).

Most band members and many band leaders are only partially musically literate, yet Christmas Choirs play the role of music schools for many who cannot afford to pay for music lessons or go to a conservatory. They provide instruments

and teach playing techniques; if their members cannot learn to read staff notation, they at least develop an excellent musical memory that allows them to play orchestral parts with the required precision. Their repertoire consists mostly of hymns and marches, some of them specially arranged by the band leader. In competition, through their display of excellence, both in music, in elegance and in discipline, they aim at showing the worthiness of the participants, and of the community they come from (Bruinders 2006–2007). Musicians in Christmas Choirs usually belong to a lower-middle class of artisans, traders and teachers. They enact the ideal of a respectable (*ordentlik*) community[8] and many do not wish to be confused with the Coons. Yet, their musical abilities, and sometimes their inclination for *deurmekaar*[9], the particular type of fun generated by the *Klopse*, spur them to join them. Musicians playing in the choirs, or who have had an experience with a choir, usually represent an important proportion of the marching brass bands which accompany the *Nagtroepe* on New Year's Eve, and back the Coons on the road as well as at the stadiums. Generally speaking: "[…] it has always been possible, at least since the fifties, for the same player to be part of a Christmas Choir, Sangkoor, and Klops in the same season. Some of these players have also formed the backbone of the lively and important dance band and jazz scene" (Howard 1994: 69).

Langarm

Throughout the 20th century, coloured Capetonians maintained a passion for dancing. In the 19th century, they used to dance at picnics, on the beach or in the streets. They enjoyed the cushion dance which was done with a pillow, the *lingoe*, with very elaborate finger movements, and the *kransdans*, a circle dance to the beat of a *ghoema* drum, performed at Christmas and Easter (Martin 1999: 73–74). It seems that these types of dance disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century. They were replaced by adaptations of European dances, accompanied by string orchestras, then by wind instruments. After World War II, dance music was strongly influenced by American jazz big bands, such as Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington, Tommy Dorsey or Glenn Miller, and Cape Town orchestras adopted their instrumental combinations (trumpets, trombones, saxophones, rhythm section) when they could afford it. They necessarily included at least one saxophone, and until to this day, in order to be considered "authentic" and be popular, *langarm* bands must play the melody on the saxophone, with a very particular tone (quite nasal) and articulation (accenting the end of phrases with an ample vibrato) (Holtzman 2006).

What is called *langarm* is more a social gathering centred around dancing than a definite genre of music. Originally, *langarm* referred to a dance style in which partners stretched their arms horizontally, but dancers actually move freely, and steps typical of ballroom dancing, such as those imposed in official competitions, are often seen at *langarm* parties. The saxophone, and the way it is played, are more important than the tunes themselves: popular hits and original compositions are interpreted, and frequently adapted to fit the rhythms of *vastrap* and the *ghoema* beat, which underlie implicitly most tunes played on a fast tempo, although the *ghoema* drum itself no longer appears in *langarm* bands. It is generally considered that there are five standard ballroom dances: the waltz, the quickstep, the tango (which has been abandoned since 1990), the slow-foxtrot, and the swing-waltz, to which must be added "foreign" dances such as the samba, and traditional steps like the *vastrap* and the square dance (Holtzman 2006: 13–14). The quadrille, and its various figures, remained one of the most popular dances at *langarm* parties until the destruction of District Six. *Vastrap* was frequently danced to carnival tunes; it has remained a must at *langarm* parties and dancers flock to the floor as soon as they hear the first accents of its rhythm.

Langarm musicians always had to renew their repertoires, to imagine styles of playing that would provide a comfortable accompaniment to dancing, but would also be pleasing to the ears of demanding listeners. They kept in touch with innovations in American jazz or international variety music, and integrated in their playing whatever they thought could improve it. *Langarm*, rooted in brass bands, the *vastrap* and the quadrille, absorbed and adapted every new fashion. It was especially receptive to jazz; quite a number of Cape Town's jazz musicians played in *langarm* bands, and acquired there a particular sense of tone and harmony. In the 1930s, the most important Cape Town dance band, Sonny's Jazz Revellers, toured South Africa and contributed to the popularity of their particular blend of jazz and Cape Town dance music (Ballantine 1993: 53). Later, pianist Tony Schilder related how he discovered a marvellous saxophone player in what he found to be a terrible *langarm* band; Johnny Gertze, the saxophonist, became a remarkable bass player who recorded with Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) (Ansell 2004: 70). The late saxophonist Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee recalled that: "When the [*langarm*] bands get together to practise there's always a happy feeling going on […] and the harmonies that they use are very rich […] although those are basic harmonies. But the way they play it, you see, it's a way of getting the sound out […] The saxophone puts a vibrato on the lead and all that. *Langarm* influenced me a lot, because when I was a kid there were hundreds of these bands.

[…]"[10]. His colleague Robbie Jansen argued that, if there is a specific Cape jazz, it is probably grounded in the heritage of the dance bands: "Maybe it's the *langarm* thing. You know, ballroom was the dance band element. Now we grew up with those sounds" (quoted in Miller 2008: 2). Cape Town jazz musicians, raised and fed on *langarm*, instilled some of its characteristics in the groups with which they played "pure" jazz.

Although *langarm* has been popular both with Afrikaners and working-class coloureds, the latter have given it a particular sound and consider it an important feature of their social life. On the other hand, fascinated with jazz, coloured *langarm* musicians have not lent a deaf ear to the sounds coming from African townships. To the "classical" dance style traditionally performed at *langarm* parties, they added "jive", that is tunes incorporating elements from African urban music. African musicians also played *langarm*: Ephraim "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka, one of the most important saxophonists and band leaders of the 1950s and early 1960s Langa scene, not only performed with Christmas Choirs, but made it very clear that one of the first bands he organised, the Swingettes, played foxtrots, quicksteps and tangos, which to him were definitely *langarm* (Rasmussen 2003: 219–225).

Brothers Ismail and Gamja Dante, heir to the Dante family who played a central role in *Kaapse Klopse* and Malay Choirs since the end of the 19th century.

Vocal groups

At the end of the 19th century, group singing was a favourite pastime, especially among young men. Bands of friends harmonised in the streets; social and sports clubs organised choirs that eventually participated in New Year competitions. Their repertoire was extremely diverse; it included ballads, glees, ragtime and minstrel songs from the British Isles or the United States as well as creolised types of songs. At this time, it seems that singers did not specialise in any particular genre, although tunes fashioned by an Islamic culture were the preserve of Muslims. In the first decades of the 20th century, choirs began participating in the New Year Coon Carnival and sang mostly in English, which disappointed Afrikaner self-appointed "experts" of coloured culture who wanted to hear more Afrikaans, and thereby demonstrate the ties that linked coloured to whites, albeit in a subordinate position. "The fact that the Coloured coons sang imported songs was lamented both by Dr I.D. du Plessis of '*Die Moleier en die Afrikaans Volkslied*' fame, and Professor Kirby, who wrote 'The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa'. At one of the coon concerts last week Dr du Plessis and Professor Kirby suggested that the coons should combine, and get back to the melodies of the country and its people. *The Cape Argus*, strangely enough, in a sub-leader applauds the suggestion, and expresses its regret that the indigenous song and music as preserved by the Malay Choirs should be overwhelmed by foreign importations."[11]

As a matter of fact, I.D. du Plessis[12], who was to become an official of the apartheid regime, facilitated the creation of a special board for Malay Choirs, independent from the rival Coon boards that organised the New Year carnival. He teamed up with Benny Osler, a famous (white) Springbok captain, and active choir leaders, members of the Dante family, Edross Isaacs and Achmat Hadji Levy to launch the Cape Malay Choir Board (CMCB) in 1939. The CMCB still federates the greatest number of choirs. But, in 1952, they agreed to organise competitions under the aegis of the Van Riebeeck Festival in celebration of the arrival of officials of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape three centuries before. Several choirs refused to participate, split from the CMCB, and created the Suid Afrikaanse Koorraad. Later, in 1982, a third board appeared, the Tafelberg Koorraad. Their musical styles are strictly identical and their competitions, although separate, are organised in the same way. The creation of the CMCB caused a new distribution of the repertoires between the *Klopse* and the *Sangkore*. *Klopse* would sing adaptations of imported songs, coming mostly from the United States; Choirs would sing the most traditional repertoires, the Afrikaans *moppies*

and the *nederlandsliedjies* (until the late 1950s as combined chorus) exclusively in Afrikaans, as well as original creations prepared for the solo and combined chorus competitions. In 1949, Afrikaans *moppies* were introduced in Coon competitions, again probably following I.D. du Plessis' recommendations[13], and in about 1957 *nederlandsliedjies* became a full-fledged "item" in the Malay Choir competitions, following recommendations to that end by I.D. Du Plessis and Dutch musicologist Willem van Warmelo (Van der Wal 2009: 59; Desai 2004). Since 1950, the *Klopse* have been singing arrangements of imported songs, and Afrikaans *moppies* and the Malay Choir competitions have featured four main "items": the two most important creole repertoires, Afrikaans *moppies* and *nederlandsliedjies*, and solo and combined choirs, consisting mostly of original tunes, some of them modelled after foreign types.

Moppies[14]

Afrikaans *moppies* (comic songs), one of the most popular items in the *Klopse* and Malay Choir competitions, are the contemporary offsprings of the *ghoemaliedjies* (drum songs) which were sung in the streets and at picnics. It has been argued that *ghoemaliedjies* were themselves the result of South African derivations of repertoires sung in Batavia in the times of slavery: *kroncong* and *pantun*. The word *kroncong*[15] is used to name a plucked lute, as well as the orchestra which includes it, and a type of song. The word appeared at the time of the Portuguese presence in Indonesia, but was not used to designate a genre of music before the 20th century. *Kroncong* represents the first musical layer of Malayo-Portuguese creolisation: "It is generally accepted that certain of the components of what is now called *kroncong* were introduced into Indonesia by sailors on the Portuguese ships that came to the islands in the 16th century in search of spices. While some of these sailors may have been white Europeans, most were 'black Portuguese' – i.e., freemen and slaves from stations of the Portuguese trading empire in Africa, India, and the Malay Peninsula, who had assimilated elements of Portuguese language and culture and had become Catholic" (Yampolsky 2010: 16). It is highly likely that creolised songs played on the *kroncong* lute or accompanied by *orkes kroncong*, in which there were already traces of African inputs, were brought to the Cape by slaves or even Dutch colonists coming from Batavia; however it seems impossible to ascertain a precise filiation between Afrikaans *moppies* and *kroncong* songs. Whatever they sounded like in the past, contemporary Indonesian *kroncong* songs feature a solo voice, with no choir accompaniment, and can hardly evoke *moppies*. *Pantun* is a traditional type of Malay poetry, and obeys very strict prosodic and rhyming rules. It is based

on the contrast between the two distiches of a quatrain, an opposition which is not systemically humoristic. It is obvious that there is no trace of the rules that govern *pantun* in *ghoemaliedjies*; Chris Winberg suggests that *pantun* may have developed into a form of satirical comment (Winberg ca. 1992: 79). *Ghoemalidjies* share with them the systematic use of contrast, both in melodies and lyrics; but this is not evidence enough to consider the relationship of 20th century Capetonian comic songs to *pantun* as more than an hypothesis. The influence of Dutch comic songs, including *mopje* (little jokes) must also certainly be taken into account (Winberg ca. 1992: 82). As their name suggests, *ghoemaliedjies* were originally dancing songs accompanied by a drum; they were performed in the streets and at picnics to accompany *tickey draai* and round dances. It seems that their lyrics have always been on the caustic side. *Ghoemaliedjies* were used to make fun of people, especially if they were or pretended to be in positions of authority or prestige, and to make fun of particular situations, even if they were rather distressing (Winberg ca. 1992)[16].

Afrikaans *moppies* have preserved this legacy and are defined as "comic songs". They result from a kind of musical bricolage. They are actually pot-pourris, assembling bits of pre-existing melodies with original elements, the whole being cemented by the *ghoema* beat. *Moppies* contain several melodic parts, plus an instrumental intro and "outro" (conclusion). One or two of the last parts have to be played in a slower tempo, in order to create a contrast which, often, underlines the laughable aspects of the situation described in the lyrics. *Moppies* are based on a call and response structure, featuring a soloist who mimes as much as he sings. They address various topics dealing with ordinary life, particular characters living in coloured neighbourhoods[17], special events, but always submit them to a witty treatment. Humour is expressed in the contrast created by the succession of heterogeneous melodic elements, in the gestures of the soloist, and in the words in which puns abound. Although their tunes are constructed by assembling snatches of melodies borrowed from jazz, international popular songs (from the early 20th century to the most recent hits) or classical airs, they can be considered as a creole repertoire because the creative process amalgamating disparate elements is strictly Capetonian and operates on the foundation provided by the *ghoema* beat, which is unique to Cape Town[18].

Nederlandsliedjies[19]

As their name suggests, *nederlands* or *nederlandsliedjies* (literally, "little Dutch songs"), are supposed to be of Dutch origin. However, their musical features combine elements of western choir singing with traits that sound eastern. The

nederlands is responsorial: the soloist and the choir alternate, and join together on certain sentences. The choir sings in block harmony and keeps a strict pulse on a rather slow tempo, the voices being distributed in three or four parts constructed on simple major chords. The soloist, by contrast, transforms the melody and multiplies embellishments in the form of melisma, giving it a modal flavour. The soloist floats above the other singers: his phrasing is not strictly based on the pulse expressed by the choir, but he comes back to it whenever he has to blend with the other singers and "pass" the melody on to them (a very delicate technique called *aangee*). The melodic ornaments used in *nederlandsliedjies* are called *karienkels*; the word actually denotes both a vocal technique and a tone quality, high pitched and nasal (Desai 1983: 177–178; Howard 1994: 50–51). It is not taught, and there are no schools for the singers but the choirs themselves. It is thought to be a gift: a singer has the karienkel in his voice, or he does not. *Karienkels* are not extemporised, although the soloist enjoys a great amount of freedom when ornamenting a melody; he prepares his *karienkels* during practices with the choir leader and, once the passages to be embellished and the type of ornament are chosen, they do not vary in public performance.

The embellishment techniques used in *nederlandsliedjies* do not correspond term to term to similar techniques used in other parts of the world. Singers ornament by adding full-tones or half-tones[20] sung as semiquavers or demisemiquavers around a note of the melody. It produces a kind of melodic fragrance that suggests a strong relationship with the musics of Islam. Desmond Desai argues that the sources of *karienkels* lie in Muslim forms of vocal delivery[21] such as: *adhdhaan* (*adhān*, call to prayer), *badja-ing* (Qur'anic cantilation) and *djiekers* (*dhikr*), and it is plausible that various styles of calling to prayer and reading the Qur'an, originating in different regions that contributed to the Cape's Islamic culture (Indonesia, but also Zanzibar and the Swahili Coast of East Africa, Turkey and possibly Madagascar), have been fused in South Africa to produce this original style of embellishment. Melisma of the *karienkel* type are also heard in the embellishments individual singers introduce in the collective singing during *gajjat*[22]; the sliding from unison to polyphony which is particular to *gajjat* may give an idea of the way *nederlandsliedjies* were interpreted before they were introduced in competition, at a time when three- or four-part harmony was not prevalent in the choir's responses. Eastern and Muslim combinations have been mixed with European traditions of choral singing developed in the interpretation of hymns of the Reformed Church and songs of the Dutch or German Star Singers, who used to serenade in the streets between New Year's Day and the Epiphany. Desmond Desai (1983: 57) concurs

with Willem van Warmelo (1954) in assuming that *nederlandsliedjies* result from the application of eastern techniques of ornamentation to Dutch songs.

As a matter of fact, it seems that at the end of the 19th century "Malays", and more generally coloureds, sang traditional Dutch songs (Desai 1983: 161; Laidler 1952). The lyrics of several *nederlandsliedjies*, written in high Dutch or older forms of creolised Dutch, do indeed display archaic features and tell of past events such as the battle of Waterloo or a 17th century Prince of Orange (*Al Is Ons Prinsje Nog So Klein*, "Even though our Prince is so small"). They may have been brought to the Cape by Dutch settlers, soldiers or sailors, appropriated by the slaves and then included in their oral tradition. It seems, however, that most of the songs were, if not composed, at least collected and put in their present form at the beginning of the 20th century: "None of these songs was written down in the early years, but about seventy-five years ago [ie. 1892] a Malay Choir leader named Rasdien Cornelius, helped by a retired Dutch sailor, Frans de Jongh, began to record what was rapidly being lost. When Rasdien began, a mere twenty songs were all that could be recalled by the younger singers. Other songs were imported from Holland and the oldest Malays were persuaded to recall snatches of ditties sung in their youth" (Manuel et al. 1967: 108). Later, Willem van Warmelo also contributed by reintroducing Dutch songs into the repertoire of the *nederlandsliedjies* (Van der Wal 2009: 59–63). The manner in which they are interpreted, the chords played on the banjo in particular[23], tend to confirm the idea that many of the *nederlandsliedjies* are not so old. It is generally accepted that the most popular one, "*Roesa*", is in fact relatively recent.

Two hypothetical lines of evolution may be considered to explain the formation of the *nederlandsliedjies*. Dutch songs may have been preserved, and possibly brought back closer to their original form, through the efforts of people like Rasdien Cornelius and Frans de Jongh. Their words were put to paper and eventually remained in the repertoire of Malay Choirs as *ouliedere* (old songs), usually sung in combined chorus. Muslim hymns, chants used for *dhikr* (called *djiekers* in Cape Town) and *pudjies* (Qur'anic verses sung in call and response), the sliding from unison to polyphony during *gajjats* may have provided the musical basis on which were created orally transmitted secular songs, especially *bruidsliedere* (wedding songs) and *minnatliedere* (love songs) (Desai 1985). These secular repertoires certainly incorporated elements from Dutch songs or *ouliedere* and evolved into *nederlandsliedjies*. Whatever the case may be, we can be sure that *nederlandsliedjies* are the product of a protracted process of blending and mixing, and have been created from the combination of musical elements coming from Europe, various Islamised regions and the United States:

"Cape Malay music, in particular the Nederlands lied, is an unique blend of the (musical) cultures of the people of the Cape. The Nederlands lied in its very form and style shows the indebtedness to the 'East' in terms of the *karienkels*, and also to the 'West' in terms of the language and the harmonies. Thus the Nederlands is a unique blend of 'East' and 'West'" (Desai 1983: 164).

Singers and listeners alike love them: they form the repertoire which is the most heavily loaded with emotion. They obviously constitute the most original genre of song to have appeared in Cape Town. There are 200, maybe 300, *nederlandsliedjies*; it is said that experts have attempted to write down their lyrics, but no complete collection of *nederlandsliedjies* has yet been published (Desai 2004: 5). Their tunes have always been orally transmitted and only a few of them have been recorded on discs or tapes. The repertoire is now closed and for a choir leader: "It is taboo, it is actually taboo for anybody to write a *nederlandslied*; now nobody writes *nederlandslied* anymore."[24] A CMCB rule stipulates that when a choir has arrived first in a section of the competitions, the *nederlands* they have interpreted cannot be used again during the three years that follow. This regulation is meant to keep the whole repertoire alive.

Music of the Kaapse Klopse

Malay Choirs and *Klopse* are usually seen as two aspects of the New Year festivals, distinct but related. Some singers in the Malay Choirs do not wish to be confused with Coons – just like some instrumentalists in the Christmas Choirs – because they consider members of the *Klopse* as unruly, low-class people, gangsters, a far cry from the respectability (*ordentlikheid*) and rectitude they want to embody. This is not, however, the general opinion, and an official of the Cape Malay Choir Board was rather inclined to think: "Now the Coons is a separate thing from the Malay Choirs. It is a difference between the two of them. They have their black faces and they have satin uniforms. We go to more decent type of singing competitions. But I can't see any opposition. They have their own dates and their own festivals and they have their own followings and the Cape Malay Choir Board also have their own following. If someone participates in a Coon troupe, he can still participate in a Malay Choir, there's no problem about that, no problem about that at all."[25] There are indeed many choir members active in the Coons, as singers, soloists and coaches; and from the musical point of view, there are undisputable musical connections between the Coons and the choirs.

When the New Year festivals began to take shape during the second half of the 19th century there was no separation of repertoires, and the same vocal

groups interpreted songs imported from Holland, Great Britain or the United States as well as *ghoemaliedjies* and *minnatliedere*, but since they were associated with Muslim weddings, the latter were seen to belong to the "Malays". They were however known to non-Muslims and certainly influenced their manner of singing. When the festivals began to be formalised, it seems that only imported songs were retained as items in competition, alongside non-musical displays such as "Best Dress", "Best Board", "Grand March Past", or "Exhibition March Past". A clear separation of the repertoires occurred when the Cape Malay Choir Board was formed in 1939. During World War II, when the carnival became quite patriotic and supportive of the efforts of the Allies, an attempt was made to include Malay Choirs in the *Klopse* carnival[26]. This arrangement may have lasted during the war and anticipated the introduction of Afrikaans *moppies* in *Klopse* competitions in 1949. However, the bulk of the *Klopse* repertoire remained imported songs interpreted in English. The origins of the songs, their international popularity, their association with famous movies and acclaimed singers, their lyrics and the associations they could suggest[27] were decisive factors in choosing to sing them in competition. Cape Town was home to a "copy cat" tradition, and the New Year carnival featured its own "Charlie Chaplin", "Jerry Lewis", "Paul Robeson", "Mario Lanza" and "Bing Crosby". Yet importing songs and impersonating international stars were used as means of signifying Cape Town: it meant that the underprivileged victims of racism and apartheid were not imprisoned in their townships and cut off from the rest of the world, but very much attuned to it, in permanent contact with its most modern and creative fields. Interpreting songs from overseas always implied adapting them to Cape Town tastes, "capetonising" them; pretending to imitate an international celebrity never hid the imitator, who was a true Capetonian. The transformative appropriation of songs and singers displayed the capacity of Cape Town and of Capetonians to absorb and recreate whatever was available on the world stage, and to adjust to any kind of modernity just invented. It can therefore be interpreted as a form of symbolical denial of the stereotypes attached by the ruling classes to coloureds as people without culture, unable to create anything and wholly dependant upon the whites.

The transformation of the *Klopse* carnival supports this assertion. Whereas, at the beginning of the 20th century, costumes were extremely varied, the mask of the Coon came to predominate in the 1950s and remained the only mask from the 1960s onwards, with the exception of the Atjas, or American Indians, who almost disappeared but were revived in the 1990s. The inspiration for both the Coon and the Atja came from the United States[28], and their preponderance bears witness

to a strengthening of the identification with the United States, as do the names given to troupes[29] (Martin 2000a). Klopse members and captains did not however identify with the real United States, characterised by racism and segregation, but with a phantasmal and idealised country: a land of freedom and opportunities, purveyor of a mixed – not exclusively white – modernity, especially in the field of entertainment. The evolution of the styles of music played for *Klopse* competitions confirms it. Rock and roll, then soul music, disco, rap and techno did not replace older Tin Pan Alley songs, but were added to them. The orchestras' instrumental composition changed significantly. The tradition was that the Coons, when they sang, were supported by string bands. In the streets, the *Nagtroepe* (*Sangkore*) could be accompanied by brass bands, whereas bands comprising violins, guitars, banjos, accordions, cellos and percussion instruments backed the *Klopse* in the stadiums. They progressively gave way to trumpets, trombones and saxophones. A Coon captain who started playing carnival as a child in the 1950s remembers: "The first team that came out with a brass band was a team called the Cornwalls. They already had 700 people that time. Their Captain used to drive for *The Argus* or *The Cape Times* […] and they came out with a band that was playing for the *Nagtroepe*, which was saxophones. But then, that was only saxophones. Then there came two guys, two farm boys, two provincial type of guys, they came to stay in Cape Town and, with the start of the Young Stars, they were the first team to come out with two trumpets. These two people who played the trumpet, they were like magicians."[30] The Cornwalls and the Young Stars were quite popular troupes at the time, they created a precedent and others followed suite. The consequence of the change in the composition of orchestras backing the singing Coons was that it tended to be more jazzy, that is, again, more American.

Qasidah *bands*

In 1983, Desmon Desai defined *qasidah*s (sometimes spelt *kasedas*) "[…] as a popular type of religious music, with a garbled Arabic text, sung by a soloist (or a pair of singers forming a duet) to the accompaniment of instruments such as the mandolin and drum. The 'Cape Malay' kasedas are also characterised by distinctive rhythmic accompaniment […]" (Desai 1983: 49). For Raji Divajee, co-producer of the programme "*Qasidah* Classix" on the Voice of the Cape Muslim radio station, it is "[a] poetry recited in the most melodious voices, sometimes accompanied by musical instruments and the lyrics is spiritually uplifting."[31] These definitions suggest that, musically speaking, *qasidah*s do not constitute a genre that can be described with specific characteristics. They straddle the domains of religious

and entertainment music: they aim at providing music that can be legitimately enjoyed by Muslims outside the framework of religious rituals. *Qasidah*s are open and plastic, and have absorbed a great variety of influences. The place they have taken in the life of today's Cape Town Muslim communities is the outcome of an evolution which is centuries long and probably started as soon as shaykhs from Indonesia were deported to the Cape[32]. Muslim dignitaries such as Shaykh Yūsuf of Macassar[33] were adherents of Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqas*), in the rites of which music played an important role.

Shaykh Yūsuf himself is sometimes said to have played the violin, although this may be a legend. But the presence of Sufism at the very beginning of the colonisation of the Cape cannot be disputed[34]. Its beliefs and practices were transmitted from generation to generation and spread, even though the public practice of Islam was forbidden, and applications for the construction of mosques were systematically rejected until 1804 (Bickford-Smith et al. 1998: 77; Davids 1980: 46–47). In 1772, Charles Thunberg, a Swedish physician and botanist who worked as a surgeon for the VOC in Cape Town, described a "New Year" celebration in the course of which there was singing "[…] loud and soft alternately" accompanied by the "principal man of the congregation" on the violin. Suleman Essop Dangor, a biographer of Shaykh Yūsuf, assumes that: "Though the year of the ceremony cited above was long after Yūsuf's demise, it could quite possibly be a continuation of the sessions that were initiated by Yūsuf and his disciples at Zandvliet[35]" (Dangor 1981: 39–40). The ceremony in question may have been a *dhikr*, but the important information given by Charles Thunberg is that a musical instrument was played during a Muslim ceremony in the 18th century. In spite of controversies that surround the status of music in Islam – some consider it *haraam*, impure and forbidden, others *halal*, lawful, acceptable, sometimes with certain restrictions – the general position of Muslim authorities in Cape Town was probably summarised by Achmat Davids in his contribution on "Music and Islam" presented at a symposium on ethnomusicology in 1984: "I conclude therefore that neither music nor musical instruments are forbidden in Islam" (Davids 1985: 38)[36]. The controversy resurfaced recently in Cape Town with the emergence of more rigorist trends[37], but to most Capetonian Muslims, music remains *halal*, and *qasidah*s a permissible recreation.

Although information about the history of *qasidah* bands in Cape Town is scant and practically no research has been dedicated to this genre, available data suggest that *qasidah* emerged as an autonomous genre, distinct both from ritual music and secular songs, in the 1940s. *Qasidah*-like songs were certainly sung before, but it

is during this decade that bands began to include the word *qasidah* in their name and that the most famous of them, Oesmaniyah *Qasidah* Band, was founded[38]. From the beginning it seems to have been a heterogeneous genre, influenced by various musics played in countries with an important Muslim population. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Muslim political prisoners and slaves probably imported to Cape Town music from their countries of origin and then passed it on to their children. This Islamic channel was no doubt regularly re-supplied: if theologians from Zanzibar, Turkey or Saudi Arabia visited Cape Town, and sometimes settled there, or if pilgrims went to Mecca, following zigzagging itineraries that took them through India, there is no reason why music from these different countries could not also have made its way to South Africa. For a long time, Islamic music was passed on orally during celebrations such as the birth of the prophet, weddings and *khalifas*. Even though they were not considered to be music, the chanting of the Qur'an and the *adhān* (call to prayer), nonetheless influenced the musical preferences of all those who heard them or performed them every day. The introduction of recording affected repertoires that had been preserved through oral transmission. Records made both religious and non-religious musics from the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula readily accessible. Initially inspired by Egyptian and Saudi Arabian ensembles, *qasidah* bands later incorporated rather unorthodox influences, not just Eastern pop music but also Bollywood songs, Christian hymns and Muslim Indonesian music that had been discovered through recordings. As a result, *qasidah* records sell well today and are played regularly on Muslim radio stations (Voice of the Cape, Radio 786), but the name designates a disparate collection in which modal ornamentations and polyphonic songs coexist with a capella singing, synthesisers and beatboxes.

The Eoan Group

Creolisation processes are protracted phenomena that never stop (Glissant 2007: 91). Dynamics of creolisation started at the Cape in the 17th century, but have never ceased to affect social interactions and creations. A stock of creole musical forms emerged at the end of the 19th century, but they never congealed and were permanently renewed by the discovery and appropriation of music that had not yet been absorbed in the creolisation process. At various times in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, several genres of American music (jazz included) and international pop music reached Cape Town and fertilised its creole musics. Musics considered to be the preserve of the white population were also part and parcel of

these processes: popular songs and dance tunes and hymns, as sang by choirs or played by string and brass orchestras, contributed to fashioning Cape Town's creole musics. This is why it is necessary to give a brief description of the beginnings of "art" music in Cape Town, before proceeding to examine the particular place that the Eoan Group occupied in the cultural life of coloured communities.

"Art" music in Cape Town

What is usually called "classical music" was not easily accessible to "non-white" people, at least in its original forms. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, even the European inhabitants of Cape Town had few occasions to listen to decent interpretations of orchestral pieces or operas. European "art" music was performed from transcriptions by brass bands, but it is generally assumed that, before 1840, "art" music was not seriously performed in Cape Town (Bender-Brink 2005: 122). In 1854, the United Musical Society, an amateur musical organisation was founded (Kirby 1937: 30), then, in 1893, a new theatre was built on the Grand Parade where Capetonians could enjoy amateur performances of operettas, and occasionally of an opera such as Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (Malan 2005: 126). Things began to change in 1910, when the South African College of Music was opened by Apolline Niay-Darroll in Strand Street with six students; in 1923 it was incorporated into the University of Cape Town, where a chair of music had been created in 1918. At about the same time, in 1913, the Cape Town Orchestra was formed (Kirby 1937: 31–32). The arrival of Italian tenor Giuseppe Paganelli was to give a new momentum to the acclimatisation of European "art" singing in Cape Town. In 1929, coming back from a tour in Australia, he stopped in the Mother City and decided to settle there. He was rapidly hired by the College of Music and, seeing "South Africa as a virgin territory for opera", started an opera school where he trained several generations of South African singers. The first result of his efforts was his 1929 production of *The Barber of Seville* at the Opera House (Faktor-Kreitzer 2005: 148).

By the 1950s, although symphonic performances and operas were no longer unknown to Cape Town and the College of Music had gone from strength to strength, the "classical" music scene was not very lively. A General Post Office had been erected where the Opera House used to be and operas could only be played at large cinema theatres such as the Alhambra or the Playhouse. They were usually performed by troupes of Italian or "Italianised" singers. Capetonians were treated to Tito Gobbi in Giuseppe Verdi's *Rigoletto*, Virginia Zeani in *La Traviata* and Luigi Infantino in Giochano Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (*The Barber of Seville*), the orchestra being frequently conducted by the *maestro* Giuseppe Patane. South

African singers could be heard with the UCT Opera Company at the University's Little Theatre. In the 1950s, the University of Cape Town had unequivocally expressed its opposition to apartheid and, although individual permits had to be obtained, not without great difficulty, singers of all origins were trained at its Opera School and the casts were not segregated[39]. It was only during the second half of the 20th century that Capetonians began to be exposed to European "art" music and opera, and could attend competent performances of famous works. They could also buy recordings of well-known pieces by the world's greatest artists, and the names of Enrico Caruso, Tito Schipa and Mario Lanza, among others, were familiar to Cape Town's music lovers. The taste for European "classical" music and opera, and the partiality for Italian tenors was not limited to white communities, and rapidly reached coloured communities where it was grafted upon the pre-existing passion for singing. One organisation named the Eoan Group was to be the main vehicle of the appropriation of opera by coloureds in Cape Town[40].

The Eoan Group's achievements

The history of the Eoan group illustrates the contradictions which confronted any group of people attempting to culturally empower underprivileged inhabitants of Cape Town, and of South Africa in general, before 1994. It was founded in 1933 by Helen Southern-Holt, an English businesswoman involved in social work who had emigrated to South Africa three years before. She was convinced that coloured people could realise "[…] the dawning of a new cultural expansion in themselves and a new understanding of well-being, physical, mental, for their race" (R.E. van der Ross, quoted in: Cleophas 2009: 220). She had noticed that many coloured women spoke in a manner which she assumed was unintelligible to ordinary English speakers: "Having had to engage Coloured workers as well as European, I knew from experience that the mass of Coloured boys and girls entering the labour market were ill-equipped, and had not the power of the spoken word to aid them."[41] She then decided to offer elocution classes in District Six. In 1935, she was joined by her daughter, Maisie, a trained ballet dancer, who started dancing classes. Gifted dancers soon emerged from the Eoan Group and performed with the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra in 1937. The following year, a first group of dancers went to London to take the Royal Academy of Dance Examination[42].

In 1944, Helen Southern-Holt invited Joseph Manca to conduct the choir. Born in Cape Town of Sicilian parents, he was employed by the Treasury Department of the City Council but was musically trained and loved voices. He developed the Eoan Group choir into an amateur opera company, and in 1949 he was able to

The Eoan Group building in Hanover Street, District Six.

bring 75 performers to the stage to play a complete operetta, *The Slave in Araby* by Alfred Jethro Silver. In the following years, the opera company proposed many other operettas; the choir sang favourite oratorios by Georg Friedrich Handel: *Elijah* (accompanied in 1953 by Leslie Arnold[43] at the organ) and the *Messiah*. One of the biggest achievements of Joseph Manca with the Eoan Group was the organisation of the March 1956 Arts Festival, during which the opera company gave nine full-length performances of Giuseppe Verdi's *La Traviata*, sung in Italian. That was the very first time that an Italian opera was sung in its original language by a troupe of South African singers, including soprano May Abrahamse and baritone Lionel Fourie. They were coloureds, they were amateurs and most of them were musically illiterate, having learned their parts by rote, bar after bar, with Joseph Manca. Yet the production was extremely successful; the première was fully booked and a special performance was arranged for government dignitaries and Members of Parliament. The Eoan Group staged other operas in Cape Town and toured South Africa with equal success. By 1971 the Group's repertoire included ten operas: Giuseppe Verdi's *La Traviata*, *Rigoletto* and *Il Trovatore;* Georges Bizet's *Carmen;* Giacomo Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and *La Bohème;* Gaetano Donizetti's

L'Elisir D'Amore; Gioachino Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia;* Ruggero Leoncavallo's *I Pagliaci;* and Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*[44]. In the late 1960s, the group also premièred the South African productions of three musicals: *Oklahoma* and *South Pacific* by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, and *Carmen Jones* by Oscar Hammerstein, after Georges Bizet. In the 1960s, the ballet section was still very active and, on the occasion of the Eoan Group's second Arts Festival, performed the first full-length indigenous ballet written by a local composer for a South African ballet troupe: *The Square* by Stanley Glasser[45], a depiction of gang life in District Six, choreographed by David Poole and featuring Johaar Mosaval in the principal role.

Forced relocation and decline

The late 1950s and early 1960s were the apex of the Eoan Group activities. The Group was indeed affected by apartheid regulations, but had managed to continue working on the basis of "interracial" cooperation. In 1966, District Six, where its headquarters were located and where many of its activities took place, was declared a "whites only area" under the Group Areas Act. The Eoan Group was forced to abandon its building in Hanover Street and moved to the city centre, in Bree Street. The Group was not allowed to stay there long and in 1969 was relocated to Athlone. Thanks to a R100 000 donation from Joseph Stone, they were able to build a theatre, with rehearsal studios and classrooms, in Klipfontein Road, which was inaugurated on 21 November 1969. However, its audiences dwindled: whites preferred not to go to Athlone and many politically conscious coloureds had withdrawn their support. Until 1973, the Eoan Group was allowed to use the facilities of the City Hall. It was then renovated and the new building could no longer accommodate opera performances, which were transferred to the Green and Sea Point City Hall. Finally Joseph Manca retired in 1977 and by 1980 opera activities had come to a complete standstill. The Eoan Group is still in existence today, and the Joseph Stone Auditorium welcomes concerts, even opera performances by the Cape Town Opera and the Cape Town Philharmonic Orchestra, but it is a mere shadow of what it used to be[46].

The Eoan Group's weaknesses

The vision that prompted Helen Southern-Holt to launch the Eoan Group was that it could help coloured people to develop mentally, physically and culturally. The constitution of the Group stated that its activities aimed at enabling them "to live a life free of all bias of race, creed and colour". Yet the Group rapidly

found itself trapped in a delicate situation. It adhered to non-racial principles and its operations implied "multiracial" collaboration, yet in order to achieve its ambitions, it had to operate within a system of racial hegemony and segregation. It intended to provide a showcase for coloured excellence, and although this excellence was displayed in the field of a "high" culture which was supposed to be white, the Eoan Group came to be considered as participating in the government's project of isolating a supposedly "coloured culture". On the one hand, the leaders of the Eoan Group, Helen Southern-Holt in particular, may not have foreseen the dangers of working within the framework of apartheid[47]; on the other, while teachers, singers, producers and other supporting staff voluntarily gave their time and energy, the Group could hardly meet its expenses without government subsidies, which of course came with strings attached.

In 1947, even before the policy of apartheid was launched, the Group agreed to give a concert in Stellenbosch, in a hall which coloured patrons had to enter through a separate gate, and in which they had to sit in separate rows. Several newspaper articles and cartoons accused the Eoan Group of too easily abiding by segregation[48]. After the 1948 elections, the Eoan Group insisted that its members would only play for mixed audiences; but it had to tolerate the racial separation of seats and amenities in the halls. The 1956 Arts Festival took place at the Cape Town City Hall, which allowed this type of segregation, and the performance of *La Traviata* aroused mixed reactions, encapsulated in Alex la Guma's address to the Group[49]: "Allow us to congratulate you on your magnificent performance of *La Traviata*. You have shown that, given the opportunities, Coloured people can excel in the realms of culture on par with all other peoples. However, it [has been] rumoured for some time that your group was financially supported by the government through the Coloured Affairs Department. People can conclude, therefore, that the Eoan Group supports Apartheid. In fact, the whole idea reminds one of the slave period when the farmers hired Coloureds to perform for them, their masters. Today in the 20th Century we do not recognise the white man as our master. This is the land of our birth and we demand government support for *all* cultural movements. *But without apartheid strings.*"[50] *The Torch*[51] also printed a scathing attack after the troupe played for Members of Parliament (Cleophas 2009: 219). The leaders of the Eoan Group then decided not to accept any more government funds. But in 1965, the financial situation of the Group became so bad that they decided to apply again and they were granted a small (compared to what was allocated to the Cape Performing Arts Board, CAPAB[52]) grant. Many who had been members of the Group or had participated in its activities or regularly attended its shows felt offended, and

stopped supporting it. In addition, many members and artists living in District Six were forcibly relocated in coloured townships, far from the city centre, which made it more and more difficult for them to take part in the Group's activities.

Joseph Gabriels

The personal history of Joseph Gabriels[53] illustrates the difficulties "non-white" individuals were confronted with in apartheid South Africa when they wanted to enhance their artistic capabilities. Joseph Gabriels was born in Cape Town in 1937. He started singing with the Klopse and the Malay Choirs. In 1957 Joseph Manca, who regularly adjudicated Klopse competitions, heard him and asked him to join the Eoan Group. Joseph Manca trained him, helped him to memorise his parts, since he could not read music, and in 1958 Joseph Gabriels appeared in a production of *Rigoletto*. His Italian-style tenor became a favourite with the audiences and he appeared in most operas staged by the Eoan Group at the beginning of the 1960s. His talent, however, could not blossom in South Africa. In 1967, he was offered a bursary by the Schneier family of Johannesburg to go and study in Milan. Two years later, he won a prestigious singing competition in Busseto, the birthplace of Giuseppe Verdi. From 1969 onwards, he was invited to sing in some of the most renowned opera houses in the world: La Scala in Milan, the Metropolitan Opera in New York, where he made his debut on 5 February 1971 as Canio in *I Pagliacci* (he was the first South African to perform there), the opera houses of Dusseldorf and Duisburg. Unfortunately, he suffered a heart attack in 1984, which put an end to his career. Joseph Gabriels remembers with bitterness the following incident which shows the extent to which "non-white" talents were ignored in South Africa, and explains why they had to go into exile to get the recognition they deserved[54]: "I became the first South African to sing at the Metropolitan. At that time the Arts Councils and the Opera Houses were already established here in South Africa, but I was not called back, I was not invited. I did *Don Carlos* in London for instance, and my understudy came to sing the part at CAPAB right […] So that is just to give you an idea how stupid it was at that time."[55]

Ambiguities

Hilde Roos argues that the Group became cut off from its roots: "As the Group became entangled with the apartheid government resulting from financial support they received, it was gradually exiled from their own community. By accepting funding and complying with the terms put down by the apartheid government, Eoan was seen to have capitulated into the apartheid government's policy of coloured culture as a separate social construct, a label that for many implied servitude and a denigration of their identity. In the long run, Eoan's liaison with apartheid state funding proved not only dangerous, but fatal."[56] In 1980, after Joseph Manca had retired, Roy Stoffels, head of the Drama Section, considered that "the Eoan Group is no longer a viable arts project". He explained: "Eoan is synonymous with 'Coloured Culture'; 'Coloured Culture' is a political offspring of the government of the day; the stigma is indelible because the present generation has been schooled into rejecting Eoan; scholars who attend Eoan, often have to keep their membership a secret for fear of victimisation from fellow students and staff; businesses have failed to respond effectively to appeals for assistance for fear of damaging their own images. We are therefore wholly dependent on government subsidy."[57]

The legacy of the Eoan Group is indeed an ambiguous one. It contributed significantly to the human blossoming of a great number of Capetonians; not only in drama, music and ballet but in many other disciplines, since it also ran workshops in physical education, speech, painting and sewing. And not only among the coloureds, since it reached out to Langa inhabitants at least for some time after World War II and, for instance, organised a boxing demonstration by Langa boys as part of the 1948 Eoan Group Bazaar, held in the Banqueting Hall (Cleophas 2009: 220). The Eoan Group also embodied a spirit of dedication to "interracial" collaboration. Musicians like organist Leslie Arnold, Alessandro Rota, Olga Magnoni and Gregorio Fiasconaro, not to mention Joseph Manca and the members of the all white Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, built the framework within which coloured artistry could develop. Together they demonstrated that what was supposed to be white "high" culture could be rendered in the best manner by people who were deemed inferior and were marginalised. Through the Eoan Group, "high" culture was, to a certain extent, made available to "low" people, to underprivileged inhabitants of Cape Town. It did not undermine "popular" culture, but rather enriched it. Individuals like Joseph Manca and Joseph Gabriels served as "brokers" between the world of opera and "art" music and working-class culture. Joseph Manca frequently adjudicated Klopse competitions and even coached some troupes[58]. Joseph Gabriels started with the Klopse and the

Malay Choirs, he continued singing adult sentimental with the former and solo with the latter even after he had been acclaimed as an operatic tenor; he also coached the Young Stars, an important carnival troupe of the early 1960s[59]. He readily answered the wish of troupe and choir captains to improve the quality of singing in competitions and brought in "items" such as combined chorus or solo vocal techniques he had himself learned with the Eoan Group. His input probably launched a trend which was to grow stronger in the last decades of the 20th century: a limited "classicisation" of singing styles. Troupe or choir captains hired more frequently classically trained singers to front their choirs and train them; they even presented operatic arias in competition. "*Nessum Dorma*" (from Giacomo Puccini's *Turandot*) became a "hit" of sorts on the Cape Flats and, for instance, was presented as a solo by the Woodstock Starlites in the 1990s, and in an arrangement for combined chorus by the Super Stars in the 2000s. Yet the decisive efforts of the Eoan Group towards human emancipation were offset by its proclaimed political "neutrality" (Cleophas 2009: 219) and even more so by its reliance on government subsidies.

Coloured creolisation

Cape Town appears through the centuries as a melting pot of musics. Two main streams of blending (*métissage*) and creation from blending can be analytically discerned. The first, which was set in motion as soon as European colonists met with the Khoikhoi and brought slaves from Batavia to South Africa, mixed elements of European, Asian, Madagascan and African musics. We know very little about the specific elements that were appropriated and the early combinations that developed. It seems that a Khoikhoi aesthetic was applied to European material. It also seems that a slave culture burgeoned, nurtured by interactions between people coming from different regions. Khoikhoi-European mixtures soon merged with slave Asian-Madagascan-African-European combinations and produced a creative thrust. Certain techniques, identical or compatible, found in Islamised countries, may have been melted down to produce a core around which other elements could coalesce. The emerging musical culture provided tools enabling slaves to become competent in playing music for the Europeans, as well as in transforming it and inventing their own type of music. The second strain relies on the appropriation of overseas repertoires, imported from Holland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Appropriation being always transformative, entailing the permanent absorption of foreign elements into the musical culture of the Cape such as it was at

every moment of importation: minstrel songs in the second half of the 19th century, jazz, pop, rock, disco, rap, R&B and techno tunes, as well as opera in the 20th century. Successive foreign musical imports were grafted upon the trunk of creole musics whose roots went back to the first encounters of the 17th century. Sparse evidence of creolised musical productions appears in the 18th century; testimonies abound in the 19th century; coloured creole musics become an indispensable constituent of the 20th century New Year festivals and of the *langarm* social gatherings. From the end of the 19th century onwards, Cape Town creole innovations have irrigated South African musics that developed in other regions.

Music among the Africans

Creolisation in Cape Town should not be perceived as a phenomenon concerning exclusively the people who were labelled coloured. The theory of creolisation developed by Édouard Glissant emphasises that all the people who come in contact in a particular situation become party to the creolisation process: "Creolisation is the coming into contact of several cultures, or at least several elements of distinct cultures, in one particular place of the world, which results in a new phenomenon, totally unpredictable in relationship with the sum or only the synthesis of these elements" (Glissant 1997c: 37). Since creolisation is an unending process, it implies that all the people who, at one time or another, came to live in Cape Town brought cultural elements of their own in the creolisation process. Cape Town was particularly propitious to contacts and mixtures. In 1838, Ferdinand Krauss, a German visitor, remarked: "There are probably few cities in the world which, within so narrow a space, could show a greater variety of nations than Cape Town does."[60] Cape Town was, in the words of Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heynigen and Nigel Worden, "a singular mix" (Bickford-Smith et al. 1998: 85).

For a long time blacks (including Khoikhois, slaves, free blacks and Africans) and whites constituted groups of more or less equal sizes: blacks were in a majority from the beginning of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century; in 1821 they represented exactly half of the Mother City's population (Shell 1994:143–156).Then an influx of European immigrants allowed whites to be in the majority for more than a century, but in 1940, the size of the black population overtook that of the white (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 70–71) and since then has grown continually. According to the 2001 census, blacks (Africans, coloureds and Asians) accounted for more than 80 per cent of Cape Town's inhabitants. During the early stages of the colonisation of the Cape, Europeans and slaves entertained

intense interactions; the Khoikhoi also had contacts with both whites and slaves but their presence in the city was always minimal. After they had participated in the construction of the Castle, they were practically excluded from Cape Town. At the end of the 18th century a few of them were still living in town or on its fringes, hiring out their labour or selling meat and cattle. In 1787, about 56 of them lived in the Table Valley area (Bickford-Smith et al. 1998: 66–67). In 1821, they accounted for only 2 per cent of the population (Shell 1994: 143); later they disappeared from the censuses and were included in the category "coloured". As a matter of fact, the few Khoikhoi who continued to live in Cape Town became progressively integrated in the coloured group (Bickford-Smith et al.1998: 89) and could no longer be distinguished as carriers of a distinctive culture. They were the first inhabitants of the Cape area, the first Africans whom the Europeans met, the first aborigine people the slaves came in contact with: their influence cannot be underestimated in the period when the creolisation process was set in motion at the Cape. Yet we can hardly know what their contribution has been, although it seems probable that they participated in the invention of the *ramkie* and, through it, probably disseminated their musical conceptions and some of their own tunes.

Africans in Cape Town

Until the 1860s, Africans speaking Bantu languages were not very numerous in Cape Town. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were only a few "adventurers" who had come from the Cape eastern frontier, to whom must be added prisoners captured during the 1819 Cape's frontier wars and jailed on Robben Island. In 1839, a few families of "Fingoes"[61] had settled on the slopes of Table Mountain. A second wave of migration from the Eastern Cape started in 1857, following the famine caused by cattle slaughtering and crop destruction among the Xhosas in response to the prophecy of NoNgqawuse[62]. The 1865 census indicates that over 400 "kafirs" were living in Papendorp (today's Woodstock), and although its figures were quite unreliable, it signals that the African population was beginning to grow. Workers were brought to Cape Town from Namibia, Mozambique and the Transkei; more than 1 000 of them arrived in Cape Town in 1876 and 1877. They found accommodation in District Six, Papendorp and Salt River, and lived in terrible conditions. They began to be perceived as a hazard by White Capetonians. Violent incidents opposing whites and coloureds to Africans occurred in 1881 and the authorities were invited to deal with the "kaffir problem". Because they were seen as "savages", prone to attacking white women and living in filthy places from

which epidemics could spread to the whole town, calls were made for the creation of "Kaffir locations" (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 73–83; Saunders 1984a). In 1901, an outbreak of bubonic plague gave the government the pretext they needed to undertake the expulsion of the African population of Cape Town. Invoking the Public Health Amendment Act of 1897, they decided to remove Africans living in central Cape Town and resettle them in Uitvlugt (later renamed Ndabeni) where 5 000 people were soon crammed into an insalubrious space. As there was yet no coercive system to compel people to stay there, most of them went back to Cape Town and its suburbs (District Six, Athlone, Milnerton and Maitland) (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 83–88; Saunders 1984b). After World War I, new waves of migration brought Africans to Cape Town. The Cape Town municipality then decided to build a "model location" based on an approach to the solution of the "kaffir problem" which would "[…] combine urbanistic and hygienic intentions and the will to achieve racial segregation [in order to] control and restrict the freedom of 'coloured' [i.e. black] people in town" (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 105).

The allegedly "model" Langa was opened in 1927, the first instance of an "urbanism of social control" (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 106) that was to permeate every plan to manage the African presence in Cape Town until the 1980s. In 1955, the Secretary for Native Affairs, W.W.M. Eiselen, announced his Coloured Labour Preference Policy. Its objective was to prevent "foreign natives" from staying at the Cape, and to control the movements of those who had managed to reach areas located within the "Eiselen line". According to this policy, Africans would not be allowed to own property and could only be hired, on a temporary basis, if equivalent "coloured labour" was not available (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 118–119; Humphries 1989). In spite of the multiplication of repressive measures aimed at limiting the number of Africans in Cape Town[63], migration never stopped and their number increased during and after World War II, to a point when newcomers could no longer find accommodation in Langa. In 1946, the Cape Town Divisional Council decided to develop a new township, Nyanga[64]; this township had to be extended, before another African township, Gugulethu, was constructed in the early 1950s. Together, Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu proved unable to provide shelter for the African migrants who were continuously arriving in Cape Town, in spite of all the hurdles they had to overcome[65]. Squatter camps spread on the Cape Flats (Crossroads, Unibell, Modderdam, Werkgenot), and in the 1980s the authorities planned New Crossroads, then Khayelitsha, which was to be their last attempt at implementing an "urbanism of social control". The number of Africans living in Cape Town doubled

between 1946 (about 35 000, or 7,5 per cent of the population) and 1960 (about 70 000 or 9,5 per cent) and more than doubled again between 1960 and 1974, when 160 000 "legal" Africans were registered, to whom about 90 000 illegals must be added (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 182). Official sources indicated that 190 000 Africans stayed in Cape Town in 1980 (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 69), but it is highly probable that large numbers evaded official inventory. Post-apartheid official censuses brought the proportion of African Capetonians to 25 per cent in 1996, then 31,7 per cent in 2001.

Africans have always been in a minority, but their proportion in the total population of the city grew regularly, and its increase accelerated after World War II. All through the 20th century, they played an important role in the social, economic, political and cultural life of Cape Town. They almost immediately constituted an urban community, open to many outside influences. Most of the first Mfengus ("Fingoes") who came to Cape Town were already Christianised, some of them had lived in mission stations, and their tribulations had probably given them a particular aptitude to adapt to new situations. They were keen on education; they built schools and launched newspapers[66]. Before the construction of Ndabeni, they lived in mixed neighbourhoods like District Six, where they rubbed shoulders with whites and coloureds. Some Africans intermarried with members of other groups, Europeans included. At the end of the 19th century, the African population of Cape Town was not exclusively composed of people coming from the same region: many originated from the Transkei and spoke isiXhosa, but there were also people from Mozambique, Namibia and the northern parts of South Africa or the protectorates (Bechuanaland, Basutoland) speaking seSotho or seTswana. Cape Town was then divided according to social status rather than "race", and a working-class culture was emerging in the underprivileged neighbourhoods, especially in District Six, which was shared by whites, Africans and coloureds (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 73). The forced removal of Africans from the city centre to Ndabeni transported this embryonic culture to a different environment where it provided the foundations for an urban African culture which was to blossom in Langa. Churches were active and organised schools; various organisations formed the weft of a tight social fabric; *shebeens* abounded; sports and dances were extremely popular. Trade unions (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, ICU) and political parties (the African National Congress, ANC, and the South African Communist Party, SACP) led resistance movements against the 1924–1926 laws implementing a "Civilised Labour Policy" and organised boycotts of rents and public transport. In Langa, although differences

of origin were not totally erased, the main cleavages were social and educational: an African, urbanised, educated petty-bourgeoisie consolidated while migrant workers continued to arrive from rural areas. The Langa petty-bourgeoisie played a leading role in fashioning an original African culture in Cape Town, even after new townships were opened. It was definitely African, but eager for outside influences; it was urban, but never totally separated from the countryside.

At the end of the 19th century, the small number of Africans who resided in Cape Town fully participated in the invention of an original urban working-class culture, which constituted the hothouse in which creolisation thrived. In the 20th century, when Africans were relocated to segregated townships, many artists and musicians, especially among the inhabitants of Langa, continued to interact with Capetonians classified in other groups. Their partial estrangement from other Capetonians created the conditions for the development of internal dynamics of cultural creation that could eventually fertilise a common Cape Town creolised culture.

The *Amakwaya* trunk

The first Africans who migrated to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape at the end of the 19th century were Christians, and had been in contact with mission stations where they had heard the faithful sing hymns such as those published in the Lovedale Series. Lovedale was a mission station founded in 1824 by the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Victoria East division of the Cape Province (now in the Eastern Cape). In 1841, the Lovedale Missionary Institute was opened under its aegis, where Africans of both sexes were taught most disciplines in the humanities or received technical training. Eventually the Institute included a primary school, high school, technical school, a teachers' training college, a theological college and a hospital. Students participated in religious services and sang in four-part harmony new repertoires written by African composers. These new hymns were, in the words of Percival Kirby, the offspring of an "interesting marriage": "A marriage between hymnody based on western four-part functional harmony which has a prescriptive dominant melodic line, and indigenous and folk music with its inherent call and response format, simple harmonic structure, abundance of parallel fourths, fifths and octaves and a rather simple interwoven rhythmic patterning. This marriage gave birth to *makwaya*, which became the form of expression for mission-educated Africans and converts […] And choir singing soon became the order of the day among mission-educated Africans."[67]

Their content was obviously Christian, but they also carried the aspirations of the *Amakholwa*, the African educated elite who wanted to participate in the type of universal civilisation which missionaries were supposed to represent, without forgoing their African roots.

Amakwaya hymns included comments on the socio-cultural situation, often in a concealed way; composers like John Knox Bokwe, Enoch Sontonga or Reuben T. Caluza "[…] took the hymns that the missionaries had taught them and placed them in a political context" (Detterbeck 2002: 147). John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922), an alumnus of Lovedale (as his father had been before him), was the first Xhosa to be ordained as a minister. He started to compose hymns in 1875 and published a dozen original songs in tonic sol-fa[68] under the title *Amaculo ase Lovedale* (Songs of Lovedale), a collection which also included Ntsikana's "Great Hymn" (*Ulo Tixo Mkulu* or *Ulo Thixo Omkhulu*)[69]. Enoch Sontonga (ca. 1873–1905), the composer of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*", which became the ANC's anthem in 1925, then the national anthem of several African countries (including Zambia and Tanzania) and was finally combined with "*Die Stem*" in 1994 to form the national anthem of the new South Africa, was also trained at Lovedale, and taught at the Institute before he moved to Johannesburg. Lovedale was one of the cradles of African hymnody, but was also a "melting pot" where South Africans (including a few whites and many coloureds) from various regions met and interacted (Detterbeck 2002: 45).

Most Africans arriving at the Cape at the end of the 19th century were probably familiar with the type of hymns and the style of singing that were taught at Lovedale and other mission stations. What they brought to Cape Town was this already mixed Euro-African genre of music, rather than the rural village styles using overtone singing and musical bows. African hymns served as a trunk on which other influences were grafted. Choral groups formed by students at various institutions like Lovedale, in which African and coloured students sat together, mixed hymns and Coon or variety songs which were popular in Cape Town (Coplan 2008: 52). Consequently, those who later went to the Mother City were not totally unconversant with what was played and sung there. The convergence of African hymns and popular songs, especially those that came from North America, reinforced by the widespread use of tonic sol-fa, established the predominance of a rhythmic and harmonic pattern that became the basic structure on which 20th century South African popular music was built: a succession of chords, I, IV, I, V (tonic, subdominant, tonic, dominant), played on a four-bar sequence, that became known by the name *marabi*[70].

The *Marabi* matrix

Marabi music can be considered the matrix of South African popular music, jazz included. It appeared on the mining compounds, especially around Johannesburg, but rapidly became a "national sound" (Ansell 2004: 32) that was adopted in Cape Town. *Marabi* consisted in playing any type of pre-existing or improvised melody on the tonic-subdominant-dominant chord progression, with a particular rhythmic accentuation often derived from basic Nguni drum patterns (Ballantine 1993: 27). At first, it was mostly a keyboard music (played on the piano or the harmonium), but it was adapted to any instrument (guitar, banjo, concertina) and to small ensembles that could make people dance for hours on end. Todd Matshikiza gave a vivid description of the playing of one keyboardist named Gashe[71]: "[He] was bent over his organ in one corner, thumping the rhythm from the pedals with his feet, which were also feeding the organ with air, choking the organ with persistent chords in the left hand, and improvising for an effective melody with his right hand. He would call in the aid of a matchstick to hold down a harmonic note, usually the tonic (doh) or the dominant (soh) both of which persist in African music, and you get a delirious effect of perpetual motion […]"[72].

Marabi used all sorts of melodies; they "[…] could come from almost any direction, from indigenous African songs to hymns, African-American music or simply popular songs like 'Yes, We Have No Bananas' (1923), with a *marabi* rhythm pumping underneath" (Coplan 2008: 114–115). And *marabi* indeed mixed these melodies: Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu ceremonial songs, African Christian hymns were fused in the *marabi* furnace (Ballantine 1993: 26) in which other influences were also thrown. Creolised performance styles were taken from Cape Town to the mining cities of the north by coloured migrants; they brought dance music like *tickey draai* or *vastrap*, songs of the *ghoemaliedjies* type, and more generally their adaptations of American performance aesthetics. The absorption of Cape Town music in the urban and mining mix was facilitated by Xhosa musicians who had learned to play these genres, sometimes in coloured-Xhosa string and concertina bands (Coplan 2008: 116): "Several musicians emphasised the role of Xhosa instrumentalists in linking coloured-Afrikaans, black American and local African styles, or as jazzman Wilson 'King Force' Silgee put it: '*Tickey draai* plus *tula n'divile*[73] equals *marabi*'" (Coplan 2008: 118). As a matter of fact, *marabi* was not only a type of music, it was a whole lifestyle which characterised African working-class townships from the 1920s to the 1940s (Ansell 2004: 29; Koch 1983: 158–166). Yet it resulted from the particular blending processes which developed

in mining and industrial towns of South Africa. Working-class neighbourhoods accommodated an extremely cosmopolitan population: "[…] the most distinct feature was its racial mix […] Africans, Indians, coloureds, Chinese and whites of many diverse origins (British, Lebanese, East European Jews) lived side-by-side and borrowed many elements from one another's social lives […]"[74]. *Shebeens*, where people came to drink and dance, flourished in these underprivileged areas, and *marabi* incorporated elements from their patrons' diverse cultures.

At first, *marabi*, as a music and a lifestyle, was rejected by the African educated elite who considered it vulgar and disgraceful: "The association of *marabi* with illegality, police raids, sex, and a desperately impoverished working class, large numbers of whom would at any time have been unemployed, stigmatised it as evil and degrading in the eyes of those blacks whose notions of social advancement rested on an espousal of Christian middle-class values. Yet, though both the bands and their audiences included members of this group in significant numbers, the heterogeneous nature of the black ghetto society meant that there were also strong pressures towards the *inclusion* of *marabi* in the bands' repertoires" (Ballantine 1993: 29). *Marabi* actually attracted the ear of every urban African, and infiltrated the repertoire of the most polished African orchestras.

The favourite entertainment of the African middle class was "Concert and Dance". It consisted of a type of vaudeville entertainment, with skits, dances and songs, from eight o'clock to midnight, immediately followed by a dance. The repertoires of both the vaudeville acts and the dance bands mixed American and South African sources, and there were strong links between vaudeville companies and dances bands (Ballantine 1993: 12–13). African vaudeville was definitely inspired by what was known of American musical revues and Coon or ragtime songs, but they also introduced "traditional" material borrowed from village culture, and of course *marabi*. *Marabi* musicians were usually self-taught. Dance-band leaders and instrumentalists had often managed to get some music education from white teachers (and after the mid-1930s, African) (Ballantine 1993: 34–35), but the very first training ground for African musicians had been the missions and their brass bands. These bands did not confine themselves to playing orchestrated hymns, they also rendered more secular tunes, again with strong American influences. Through the mission brass bands, Africans did not only acquire the ability to play western instruments, they familiarised themselves with African-Christian hymns, as well as with English and American entertainment music. For instance Peter Rezant, who played a decisive role in fashioning the style of African dance bands, had been a student at the Saint Matthews College in Kieskammahoek (in the then

Cape Province), an institution which in the 1930s had an outfit they called the "jazz band"[75]. Everything coming from North America had great prestige among the African elite. As far as music was concerned, they did revere black Americans, like Duke Ellington, but were also fascinated by the big band sounds of the likes of Glenn Miller[76] (Ballantine 1993: 11–38).

Just as the Coon carnival had been the occasion for creating new types of performance styles based on American models, the experience of Cape Town dance bands, dating back to the middle of the 19th century, gave coloured musicians from Cape Town a particular expertise in playing Americanised dance music. Cape Town dance bands such as the Merry Mascots definitely influenced other such bands all around South Africa; coloured orchestras were often hired by back vaudeville companies to play for the dance that followed their performances: "As the 'dance craze' developed, coloured bands like Rayner's Big Six and Sonny Groenewald's Jazz Revellers (successors to the Merry Mascots) learned American dance music in response to growing African demands" (Coplan 2008: 156). African dance bands included *tickey draai* and *vastrap* in their repertoire and, as late as the 1940s, the Harlem Swingsters had a hit with "Tamatie Sous", a *tickey draai* melody over a swing beat played in the then extremely popular style called *tsaba-tsaba*[77] (Coplan 2008: 184).

Concert and dance, African jazz and *kwela*

Concert and dance provided the main source of entertainment for the African middle class between the two World Wars. But it was also open to members of the working class, and popular big bands such as the Jazz Maniacs and the Merry Blackbirds played orchestral arrangements of *marabi*. On the one hand, *marabi* dressed in jazz-band clothes became more acceptable to the educated elite; on the other, the policy of aggravated discrimination implemented by the government, which did not differentiate between the educated African middle class and the proletariat, brought about new forms of political consciousness, aspirations to rehabilitate Africanness, and eventually facilitated a rapprochement between the elite and the working class: "Discrimination encouraged both westernisation and the creation of a distinctive African cultural identity as strategies for social advancement. Middle-class Africans regarded command of western culture and dissociation from both the 'primitive' traditions of the past and the proletarian *marabi* of the present as essential to their progress. The whites' rejection of their demands on racial grounds, however, exposed the need for African unity across

class as well as ethnic boundaries" (Coplan 2008: 165). It translated into a form of "musical nationalism" which led to an increased incorporation of African elements in the Americanised music played by dance bands (Ansell 2004: 59; Ballantine 1991: 145–146). "Between the early and mid-1940s, a number of bands began experimenting with the interaction of a set of musical components now being brought together for the first time. The most readily identifiable was the cyclical harmonic structure of *marabi*, a slow heavy beat probably derived from the traditional (and basically Zulu) secular dance-style known as *indlanu*, and forms and instrumentation adapted from American swing. With these was combined a languorous and syncretic melodic style owing less to the contours of American jazz melody than to those of neo-traditional South African music. The result was nothing less than a new kind of jazz: its practitioners and supporters were eventually to call it African jazz or *mbaqanga*" (Ballantine 1993: 60–61).

African jazz and *mbaqanga* became as "national" (Ansell 2004: 32) as *marabi*; they were indeed played and enjoyed in Langa as much as in other parts of the country. Tete Mbulelo Mbambisa, a pianist, composer and band leader born in East London in 1942, who gained an immense reputation as a jazz musician in Cape Town, remembers that, when he was a child, a piano player came to his mother's *shebeen* every Friday and Saturday and played *marabi* or *mbaqanga*; this musician, named Langa, gave Tete Mbambisa his first piano lessons (Rasmussen 2003: 141–147). Christopher "Mra" Ngcukana (1927–1993), nicknamed Chris Columbus, one of the most respected saxophonists and big-band leaders in Langa, went all the way from vaudeville – he started with a vocal group called the Bantu Young Ideas in 1943 – to modern jazz (Ansell 2004: 1–2). Tenor saxophonist "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka began playing with Chris Columbus in 1949, after having sung with a Langa vocal group, the Hay Marketers. He remembers the excitement he felt when bands from Johannesburg, the Jazz Maniacs, the Merry Blackbirds, and the *Zonk* troupe visited Cape Town. Christopher Ngcukana and the African jazz bands of the Transvaal strongly influenced him when he formed his own dance band, the Swingettes (Rasmussen 2003: 215–235).

At the beginning of the 1950s, Cape Town African dance orchestras were playing in the "national" African jazz style, when their musicians discovered with fascination the more modern forms of jazz coming from North America: be-bop. Young, aspiring musicians also kept abreast of innovations that came from the Transvaal and Natal. When *kwela* became a craze, Capetonians adopted it and started playing the pennywhistle before they could afford to buy or learn to play another instrument, just like Barney Rachabane from Alexandra and

Peter Mokonotela from Soweto had done. Sammy Maritz, before becoming one of the best bass players in Cape Town, began by playing the pennywhistle: "I started playing long before joining Dollar [Brand]. There was this friend of mine, Archibald Ostello, playing guitar, and I would play the pennywhistle on the street corners, this was when I was still a hawker. And I would play the mouth organ, the harmonica. That was long before playing bass. A variety of music, it wasn't jazz. And we were enjoying it. On their way to the bioscope, now, they had to come by Sixth Avenue [Kensington], that's where we were situated. We were on the corner, on the stoep of the shop. And we had another guy who had a wooden box with a long piece of wood attached to it, we would put a string through that, and he would play bass. Gong-gong – it made the sound of a bass. Some people stayed there all the night, they didn't go to the bioscope. And we were playing very interesting things, like sambas, mambos, jive you know, that was boogie woogie, swing. Bop came after that, I guess that was a modern form of jive" (Rasmussen 2003: 122). Basil Coetzee, who gained the nickname "Mannenberg" after soloing intensely on the tenor sax in Dollar Brand/Abdullah Ibrahim's recording of the pianist's composition, recalled: "I started to play the pennywhistle […] I must have been about 14 years old when I actually started to play the pennywhistle. It didn't take me long actually to get used to it actually because the music that I was playing was mostly the music that was known as *kwela* at that time. I played pennywhistle for about three or four years when I heard jazz musicians play in District Six like Abdullah [Ibrahim], who was Dollar Brand at the time, and Kippie Moeketsi […] I used to listen to these musicians and it used to flip me out like: *What is this that they are playing?*"[78]

Kwela was invented by young people who mixed South African elements (Tswana music for reed pipes, Zulu music for flageolet) and imported American elements and organised them within the *marabi* structure on a steady swing beat. They used pennywhistles, guitars and a makeshift bass, and performed in the streets. When this music was recorded, by Elias Lerole in 1956, it was given the name *kwela*, from the isiZulu "climb on", "get up", a shout used by street urchins to signal the arrival of a police van. According to David B. Coplan it also had the hidden meaning "Get up, Africa" (Coplan 2008: 191–195). *Kwela* was a "*marabi*-derived" music (Ballantine 1993: 7) which extended African jazz in new directions (Coplan 2008: 192). In addition to displaying in the streets an undeniable creativity that could not escape anyone's ears, the pennywhistle and guitar music reasserted an urban identity: "Government-prescribed African identity was tribal and rural, therefore the identity solicited by African Nationalists was necessarily non-tribal and urban. Syncretic

musical styles within the *marabi* tradition (such as *kwela*) perfectly embody the ideals of such African identity: the articulation of traditional Africa with foreign musical elements produces an urban, non-tribal African identity" (Allen 1993: 4). When apartheid began to tighten its grip on South Africa, *kwela* represented the last version of African jazz before most musicians, especially in Cape Town, turned to be-bop and its offspring to assert their will and their capacity to operate in an international world of modernity. *Kwela* bore the mark of *boeremusiek* and appealed to white audiences, and especially to white youth. A few white boys learned to play the pennywhistle, some were even taught by Spokes Mashiyane; for them, playing *kwela* appeared as a form of rebellion against the white establishment's conservatism, but did not lead to active opposition to apartheid (Allen 2008).

Marabi and African jazz illustrate acutely the effects of creolisation on South African music: they emerged successively as the "unpredictable" results of the interaction of people coming from very diverse backgrounds, in the particular conditions of South Africa at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. American jazz was an African-American music of extremely mixed origins (Martin 1991; Radano 2003), which was permanently reinvented throughout the 20th century and could embody both blending and universality, continuity and creativity. With the advent of apartheid it acquired a new symbolic dimension and provided a platform on which South African musicians of all origins could meet, collaborate and invent together. From that point of view, jazz deserves to be treated on its own[79] for, if African jazz was mostly created and performed by blacks, modern South African jazz broadened the notion of "national music", notwithstanding the fact that, for obvious demographic reasons, musicians involved in the modern jazz scene were still mostly black.

Music among the Whites

Until the mid-1940s whites were the most numerous population group in Cape Town (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 69). Today, they have been overtaken by coloureds and Africans, and represent about a fifth of the city's population. English has become the home language of 58.7 per cent of white Capetonians.[80] They were indeed in a dominant position until 1994 and they still play a leading role in the economy and the politics of both Cape Town and the Western Cape. The whites' political supremacy meant that their culture had been politically and financially promoted, while other cultures were marginalised, if not suppressed. European "classical" music has been taught at the tertiary level, one or several

local symphonic orchestras have been performing regularly since 1914, and in the early 1960s the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB) was launched. It benefited from substantial government subsidies and was given the mission to promote the (white) performing arts. It is within the CAPAB framework that the Nico Malan theatre was opened in 1971, with facilities allowing the most sophisticated opera productions to be staged.

For a long time, white Cape Town, and South Africa as a whole, considered that genuine culture could only emanate from Europe, and that South African culture could only derive from a transposition of European, and to a lesser degree North American, creations. This was particularly true of what was called "art" or "classical" music, which appears to have been driven by "a desire for continuity", a longing for European roots that was "linked to both theological and nationalist discourse" (Lucia 2005: xxxiii). South Africa produced several composers of music considered "classical", but they were barely recognised or supported in their country of birth; they were largely dependent on commissions from the SABC or the Southern African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) and original work met with little interest[81]. Generally speaking, "[…] in white dominated South Africa, music was not a primary parameter of cultural style" (Muller 2008: 283). White composers of "art" music therefore found themselves in a very delicate situation when they explored the possibilities of asserting themselves both as creative individuals and as South African musicians in a field that could not be severed from Europe's musical history.

For several decades, South African (white) pop music yielded to a similar "desire for continuity". Musicians and listeners remained attuned to Euro-American fashions, Afrikaans being, sometimes, the only mark of a local specificity. Paradoxically, the only genre of white South African music that evinced an undisputable South Africanness, *boeremusiek*, was treated by the elite as low class and primitive. *Boeremusiek* was stigmatised because it had been invented by workers without formal music education, and possibly because it suggested too explicitly that "[…] the Afrikaner's culture is rooted in non-European music and cultural practices […]"[82].

Boeremusiek

Boeremusiek, literally the music of the farmers, is a polymorphous genre dedicated to dancing, usually played by an orchestra (*boereorkes*) composed of one or two concertinas, and a combination of accordion, guitar, banjo ukulele, cello or bass,

and sometimes violin. Its basic feature is its cyclical structure bringing back the same chords pattern (usually based on the I, IV, V progression) distributed over periods of variable durations, but generally short. Structurally, *boeremusiek* is very close to most South African popular music genres and seems to be built on the same foundations as *marabi*. Several dance rhythms can be played by *boereorkeste*, including waltz and polka, but one of the most frequent is *vastrap*. Because it has been disparaged, *boeremusiek* has never been the object of any serious investigation and its origins are difficult to trace precisely. It definitely incorporates European elements, both in its melodies and its rhythms. However, it is clearly distinct from European (Dutch, English, French or German) dance musics played in the 19th and 20th centuries. It has been argued that: "*Boeremusiek* has its origins in the *Krontjong* [kroncong] of Java" (Davids 1984: 36), but there is no evidence to confirm this hypothesis; if any Indonesian musical elements have been integrated in *boeremusiek* it was only through the influence of the slaves and of their descendants.

The late Alex van Heerden considered *boeremusiek*, and especially *vastrap*, as the result of interactions between white farmers and their workers, slave or free. He reckoned that *vastrap* was based on Germanic folk music, but reorganised on a slow *ghoema* beat, and thought that the *vastrap* footsteps were possibly derived from shamanistic trance dances practised by Khoisan people. From this perspective, *boeremusiek* shares a common history with creole mixed musics that emerged from contacts between European settlers, the Khoikhoi (especially those who were employed as agricultural workers) and slaves. Two main strains developed from a common stock: one, more European, and one, more indigenous: "[…] when the [white] farmers play, it sounds a little bit more Germanic, rhythmically it is a little bit more rigid, and when played by the more working-class people they put a little more African backbeat to it, even on the same song", explained Alex van Heerden. In addition to that, he continued, rural musicians who only play in their villages and have little knowledge of commercial *boeremusiek* perpetuate what sounds like archaic forms; they have a singular way of tuning their instruments that may again be an inheritance from the Khoikhoi: "Many of the people who play *vastrap* can't afford new accordions, so what they do is they make violins out of tin, and they make guitars out of tin, and […] they tune these instruments to pre-equal temperament tuning, kind of just intonation, or old tunings that are based on natural overtones, like the bow, and they will play something like this but it sounds completely different because it is tuned to natural overtones. So it's such a dynamic music: it can sound very European or very African, and for me it is very special because it marks a meeting point between like an old European culture and a very old African culture."[83]

To be sure, white and coloured musicians share parts of the same repertoire. For example, "*Daar Kom die Alibama*", generally considered as the unofficial anthem of the Klopse carnival, has been recorded many times by *boereorkeste* such as Die Voortrekker Danskwartet, or Die Weigens Suikerbossie-Orkes who, with David de Lange, gave a particularly swinging rendition of the song. Under the title "*Januarie, Februarie, Maart*", Hendrik Susan en Sy Orkes (Sang deur Jimmy Boonzaier) played part of the same song as a *vastrap*, on a clearly recognisable *ghoema* beat. Both songs were recorded during the same period (from the 1930s to the 1950s) by the Central Malay Choir of Cape Town, sometimes interpolating interludes played by several violins, which made them sound a little bit more "European". The style of *boeremusiek* banjo playing, a rapid strumming that can for instance be heard in recordings by Die Vyf Vastrappers, evoked the Klopse approach to the instrument, and usually conveyed a *ghoema* feeling[84]. Japie Laubscher, one of the "kings" of *boeremusiek* concertina, born in Woodstock in 1919, at a time when it was still mixed, used a singular kind of tremolo[85], akin to the characteristic vibrato of *langarm* saxophonists that, according to Vincent Kolbe, may originate in the fiddle traditions of Cape Town (Nixon 1997: 21). Even today, the contemporary Baardskeerdersbos Orkes performs songs based on the "Alibama model".[86]

Boeremusiek is usually considered the favourite music of rural conservative Afrikaners. A few examples show that it has not always been the case. In the 1930s, it was popular among the working classes, and its heroes were miners and railway workers. *Boeremusiek* then did not hide what it had in common with *ghoemaliedjies* and *marabi*. David de Lange, himself a mineworker, embodied this brand of "rebel", "untamable" music and his songs were banned by the SABC.[87] More recently, Nico Carstens, who from the 1950s to the 1970s was as popular as David de Lange had been in the 1930s, was also ostracised by the SABC. He never denied he had been influenced by the "non-European" music of Cape Town: "I like the beat, I grew up in the Cape with *gammat* [coloured] music. There's a form of music in the Western Cape called *Hotnot's Riel*, which is not meant to sound derogatory. I have played with a lot of Malay and coloured people. There's also *goema* here. These kinds of rhythms are exciting."[88] In the late 1990s, he participated in *Boereqanga*[89], a new experiment mixing *boeremusiek*, *mbaqanga* and Malay Choir songs with, among others, jazz musicians Gito Baloi, Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee and Dave Ledbetter. With *Boreqanga*, *boeremusiek* has symbolically come full circle and openly acknowledged its creole origins. Alex van Heerden, a few months before he tragically passed away, emphasised the implications of his own discovery of *boeremusiek*'s mixed ancestry: "[…] actually I moved into the countryside for a while in search of *boeremusiek*,

and the interesting thing that I found was that *boeremusiek* wasn't being played any more by Boere as such, that much. So I discovered that, in order to learn to play rural Afrikaans music (my terminology started shifting towards that), I had to join kind of rural 'coloured' churches […] Farm labourers were playing that music and not the farmers so much anymore. That opened me up to realising that my culture is a creole culture and that's when I started becoming aware that this Afrikaans music that I wanted to learn was completely related to the music that I learned from Robbie Jansen, for example, the Cape Jazz which is linked to the *ghoema*" (Van Heerden 2009: 79).

Pop musics

South African mainstream white pop music has been characterised for many years by a distinctive lack of originality. Its only identifiable marks were language (Afrikaans) and accent (in English), but musically, it conformed to internationally predominant Euro-American models. As a matter of fact, quite a number of songs launched on the South African market were adaptations of German, Dutch or English songs. This deficit of musical personality was certainly not due to a dearth of creativity but more probably to the system within which popular musicians had to operate. The official ideology of *Afrikanerdom* and *Volkseie*[90] contributed to stifle any attempt at thinking outside the confines of conventional nationalism, Calvinism and masculine superiority. A particular conception of decency superimposed on the politics of apartheid, which kept apart members of supposedly different "racial" groups, aimed to make musics created by black "Others" inaudible for whites. This was never fully achieved, but political instruments were established, especially after 1948, to ensure that a form of "white" conformism condition most popular music productions. There has been a long string of laws and regulations limiting freedom of expression, particularly of artistic expression, in South Africa: the Obscene Publications Act of 1892 and the Entertainment (Censorship) Act 28 of 1931 preceded the Publications and Entertainment Act 26 of 1963, which established a Publications Control Board, and Section 47(2) of the Publications Act of 1974. These laws, to which must be added the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953, imposed a legal framework with which musicians had to comply, or from which they had to try to escape, not without risks. As members of different "particular races or classes" could not share the same "public premises" or "public vehicles", as members of a "particular race or class" could not enter an area ascribed to another "group" if they had not obtained

a special permit, black musicians could not perform in white neighbourhoods, or vice-versa. Musicians belonging to different "groups" were forbidden to play together on the same stage. When they decided to ignore this prohibition, they were harassed by the police. Music was submitted to an official censorship; songs were banned when the lyrics, or even the covers of the records, were deemed "undesirable", that is when there were considered indecent, obscene, morally harmful, blasphemous, if they ridiculed national institutions, posed a threat to the security of the state, and if they were suspected of stirring antagonism between sections of the South African population.

As underlined by Michael Drewett, the extremely broad definition of undesirable-ness enshrined in South African law illustrates how "[p]olitical, religious, sexual and moral interests were drawn together in an interrelated way in the form of a dominant discourse upheld by the state" (Drewett 2008: 117). It meant that "[…] opposition to the state's stance on any of those areas implied an attack on the entire hegemonic project" (Drewett 2008: 119). Under apartheid, the government disseminated a "culture of censorship" (Merrett 1995) which not only legitimised the banning of innumerable writings and recordings, but instilled attitudes of self-censorship in the minds of many artists. The more so since the culture of censorship was wholly endorsed by the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Record companies were consequently reluctant to issue any recording containing material that could possibly be judged "undesirable" or packaged in a potentially contentious cover (Drewett 2008). The main South African record companies tried to convince their artists to produce songs that could be played on the radio without any problem and could fit within the linguistic division of SABC stations. The creation of Radio Bantu in 1962 implied that each station broadcast in only one language; consequently songs using two or more South African languages were *de facto* banned[91] (Drewett 2008: 128).

To be sure, many white singers, composers and lyricists not only accepted these constraints but adhered to their underpinning ideological principles and upheld them in their productions. The result was that mainstream South African pop songs were based on trite music – evoking military marches or reproducing the aesthetics of country and western or disco – and hackneyed lyrics – replete with traces of Christian nationalist propaganda, even when they featured flora, fauna, rugby or romantic feelings that bolstered masculine superiority (Jury 1996: 99–100). Louise du Toit Smit, Marie van Zyl, Janita Claassen, Rina Hugo, Carike Keuzenkamp, Rudie Neitz, Charles Jacobie, Vickie du Prezz, Esmé Solms, Gene Rockwell, Herbie and Spence, among others, were the voices of the dominant

ideology, the loudspeakers of a form of escapism that helped listeners ignore the country's social realities (Drewett 2003: 86–86; Jury 1996: 99–100). The prototype of these conformist artists was Bles Bridges, the star of the *lekkerliedjies* (nice songs) who combined "[…] disco and some of the *vastrap* rhythmic style of *boeremusiek* with a Las Vegas-like kitsch packaging of glitter, sequined tuxedo and cowboy boots" (Jury 1996: 101). Behind Bles Bridges' apolitical statements, an inclination towards the regime was clearly discernible: "I don't want to pollute my audiences' brains with songs filled with political information. I want to sing about pleasant things, sing about positive things, because a positive nation [*volk*] is a nation that is productive and can mean something."[92]

Despite the support they received from the SABC and the record companies, these conformist singers never managed to monopolise the South African pop music scene. English-speaking songsters and rock and rollers, Afrikaans bards and *alternatiewe* rockers attracted an increasing interest among the youth as the country entered the 1970s and 1980s[93]. In the 1960s, a group of *Troubadours* "refused to bow out of the struggle" (Byerly 1998: 13–14). Probably[94] inspired by the American folk movement and their British disciples, they kept alive a spirit of dissent. Paul and Andrew Tracey[95] and Jeremy Taylor[96] participated in the famous satirical show *Wait a Minim* that toured Europe and North America for many years. Des and Dawn Lindberg formed a cabaret act and sung folk songs with a message[97]. At the end of the 1980s Jennifer Ferguson continued in this folksy vein (with a tinge of modern jazz) and wrote words expressing anger about racism, conformism and male chauvinism. Like many artists she supported the End Conscription Campaign (ECC). Her "Letter to Dickie" (pun intended) scoffed at the image of women writing comforting letters to a brother or husband dispatched to the border, and "Suburban hum", her contribution to *Forces Favourites*, an LP published by Shifty Records in support of the ECC[98], denounced the anti-communist propaganda of the government, subverting in passing the old hymn "Onwards Christian soldiers" (Drewett 2003: 85–88). Roger Lucey set his lyrics to a more rocky beat; he wrote about police infiltrating student circles, about political detainees dying in prison, about the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town, about compulsory conscription, about political exiles[99]. Although he saw himself more as a "documentary singer", a "reporter" who was not "pushing an ideology or plugging a path to redemption" (quoted in Andersson 1981: 144), he became a target of the Security Police and his career as a singer was stifled[100].

English speakers were not the only ones to expose the injustice, brutality and madness of apartheid. As far back as the 1950s, Frans, Sannie and Anita Briel were

the first to utter a non-conformist point of view about the condition of poor urban Afrikaners (Hopkins 2006: 40–41). But the most important change in Afrikaans pop music came with the *Musiek en Liriek* (music and words) movement of the late 1970s and 1980s. "The people of the *Musiek en Liriek* movement were tired of Gé Korsten[101] and Min Shaw[102], they wanted to return to the warmth and honesty of old-time original Afrikaans music. They wanted to be modern versions of the Briels" (Kombuis 2009: 36). *Musiek and Liriek* introduced elegant if not really innovative music, and challenging lyrics. Its icon was Anton Goosen, an ambiguous character who wrote songs for many mainstream singers while seeing himself as a South African Bob Dylan. His compositions were penned "[…] within a style of music that [was] acceptable to Afrikaans people but with lyrics that, while obscure, ha[d] the potential to change people's consciousness" (Andersson 1981: 149). His poetic words allowed mainstream singers like Sonja Herholdt to record songs that contained discreet traces of contestation.

Cape Town and forced removals provided the inspiration for some songs which were very popular while containing elements of protest. The most successful was "*Waterblommetjies*", a nostalgic depiction of Cape Town and the Western Cape in which could be faintly heard the pain of those who were compelled to leave the Mother City. It was recorded by Anton Goosen himself, Sonja Herholdt and Laurika Rauch, one of the most powerful voices associated with the movement. Anton Goosen also recorded "Jantjie", of which he said: "'Jantjie' was the starting point for me because at that stage Afrikaans people were writing 'come to me the moon's blue' type of songs. Jantjie is a coloured, and so is Kathryntjie – it's a simple love song. From that we move to '*Hanoverstraat*', the main street in District Six. The whole culture there has been flattened […] I'm saying more-or-less, what has happened to District Six? What have we come to?" (quoted in Andersson 1981: 149). After this description of Hanover Street, Anton Goosen addressed more explicitly the issue of forced removals with "Atlantis", recorded, again by Laurika Rauch in 1979, in which he made the following plea: "Let those with words then write and those with notes then sing: in the ghettoes, in the new new ghettoes our children are dying" (quoted in Andersson 1981: 150). "Atlantis" was banned by the SABC and so was another of his hits, "*Boy van die suburbs*", because it used the common language of the streets, while the hidden meaning of "Antjie Sommers" (both an evil ogre-like spirit and the yellow bulldozers that demolished the homes of people evicted because of the Group Areas Act) seems to have escaped many ears (Andersson 1981: 149–150). Cape Town born Laurika Rauch, an alumna of Stellenbosch University, was made famous by her rendition of a song by another

Musiek en Liriek composer, Koos du Plessis: "Kinders van die Wind", which became the theme song of a television series. Koos du Plessis was "regarded as the quintessential drifter and misunderstood artist" (Laubscher 2005: 323), but his music drew inspiration mostly from the ballad tradition of country and western and was notably influenced by the compositions of Kris Kristofferson and of the Anglo-Kenyan star of easy-listening, Roger Whittaker.

The "total strategy" devised by P.W. Botha, Minister of Defence, then State President, to contain the alleged "total onslaught" launched by communist forces on South Africa was to change the course of South African pop music at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s. The South African Police, the Air Force and then the South African Defence Force became involved in an armed conflict which developed in Namibia and in the south of Angola and became known as the "Border War". Although tightly controlled, news that came from the front and letters written by soldiers to their families revealed to many white South Africans realities that they had for a long time been reluctant to admit. They experienced the violence of the regime when they learned about youth killed or wounded fighting for a cause they understood less and less. In those days young men were conscripted to the military for two years (of which at least six months had to be spent "on the border") and 15 months of camp duty (Conway 2008: 77). At the end of the 1970s small numbers began to dodge the draft and were sentenced to several months in jail. The Conscientious Objector Support Group was formed in 1980, which gave birth to the End Conscription Campaign (ECC)[103] in 1983. The ECC "[…] denounced the state's use of force as futile and counter-productive, calling instead for multiparty negotiations that included the liberation movements […] This message was aimed as much at the black community as at whites."[104] It changed the representation many South Africans had of the army and of the government.

The ECC made spectacular inroads on Afrikaans campuses. Its modus operandi was innovative and it featured music. The ECC staged cabaret acts and organised concerts. Several musicians and groups openly supported its campaigns and participated in its concerts: Savuka, Bright Blue, Stimela, the Cherry Faced Lurchers, the Spectres. Others performed songs unveiling horrors perpetrated supposedly in defence of western Christianity: the Kalahari Surfers subverted the very notion of border in "Where's the Border Now"; National Wake exposed the border as a place where atrocities were committed in "International News", as did the Asylum Kids in "Bloody Hands"; the Aeroplanes sung about "National Madness"; and Gramsci Beat evoked "Leaving for Lusaka" (where

the ANC's external headquarters were located) (Drewett 2003). Eleven of them (including Roger Lucey, Jennifer Ferguson, the Kalahari Surfers and the Cherry Faced Lurchers) contributed songs to Shifty Records' *Forces Favourites*, which was subtitled "Eleven songs by South Africans supporting the End Conscription Campaign". Concerts and songs not only attracted young men who did not want to join the army, they also allowed musicians to perform in new contexts where they could experiment with non-conformist musical sounds and forms. Richard Ellis of the Usuals confided to Michael Drewett: "The ECC concerts were to me valuable […] We were allowed the freedom of expression, the freedom to play the music we wanted to play […]" (Drewett 2003: 83).

The 1980s were a time when the political evolution of South Africa undoubtedly spurred changes in artistic practices. Afrikaans cabaret and theatre became as caustic as *Woza Albert*, the play by Percy Mtwa, Mbongeni Ngema and Barney Simon, presented at the Johannesburg Market Theatre in 1981. Following up on the *Sestigers*, the literary movement of the 1960s, the *Tagtigers*[105] attempted to show that Afrikaans was no sacred cow and could be reworked, using elements from colloquial dialects, in order to liberate it from the dominant ideology, apartheid and Calvinism. It has been argued that: "By focusing on Afrikaans, the 'new' white Afrikaans writing perpetuate[d] the institutional force of the language and hence the power of those whites who claim ownership of it" – in other words that it "failed to politicise Afrikaans literature" (Barnard 1992: 91). However, the *Tagtigers* showed that Afrikaans could express an unconventional world vision and that Afrikaans writers could distance themselves from the government (Marlin-Curiel 2001: 159) – like the Stellenbosch theologians who, in 1985 declared that "[…] the social system of apartheid is totally unacceptable, both in theory and in practice" (Lategan et al. 1990). They created a linguistic space in which lyricists of the *Voëlvry* movement would find their own way, and it is no surprise that, under the stage name Koos Kombuis[106], writer André le Roux du Toit became one of the heroic figures of the movement that was going to briefly rock white Afrikaans South Africa (Hopkins 2006: 69).

Rock and roll "revolutions"

Rock and roll first reached South Africa around 1956 in the form of recordings by Elvis Presley and Bill Haley. It met with considerable success in spite of hostile reactions from the press and the Dutch Reformed Church. When artists like the Englishman Tommy Steele toured South Africa, the opposition from the establishment intensified. Rock and roll was branded as a form of "primitive music",

akin to what could be heard on the mine compounds. It was accused of having a demoralising influence on the youth and of inciting interracial dancing, thereby representing a potential social danger. The SABC did not play it, and rock and roll recordings were regarded by the Nationalist government as "the product of an alien and dangerous culture", yet they were not officially banned. Consequently, rock and roll remained in fashion while being regularly castigated by moral and political authorities (Hamm 1985; Jury 1996). Rock and roll appealed not only to white youth but also to blacks, especially urban educated people. The black press published articles about African-American rockers, and a few South African black musicians, including jazz musicians, played rock and roll (Hamm 1985). Pennywhistler Jack Lerole and saxophonist Barney Rachabane acknowledged that they enjoyed listening to Elvis Presley and Little Richard. Groups of black adolescents displayed their identification with American youth culture by wearing jeans and dancing to rock and roll. "All this suggests that, in fact, the wearing of jeans and the adoration of American rock n' roll stars (black and white) was common amongst adolescents across the race barrier" (Allen 2008: 88). When soul music took over from rhythm and blues and rock and roll in the United States, black youths shifted their identification to stars promoted by record companies such as Stax or Motown and rock and roll became perceived exclusively as a "white" music.

In the late 1970s the East Rand saw the emergence of a "rock and roll revolution". Groups of white musicians formed bands that copied American rock or British punk and sang about conscription, apartheid, the drabness of white suburban life, and commercialism (Hopkins 2006: 79). But the real musical revolution was to come with Warrick Sony and the Kalahari Surfers[107]. Born and bred in Durban, Warrick Sony became interested in a large gamut of musics: Indian music (he learned to play the tabla), Sunni Islamic music, Zulu music and Shangaan music from Mozambique. He did not try to fuse these early influences but used them as a resource bank from which he could draw in order to compose musical landscapes, the aesthetics of which owed a lot to Frank Zappa and punk rock. He progressively introduced fleeting hints, evocations, fragrances of other musics: reggae; parodic country and western, gospel, waltz; modern jazz (with an alto saxophone sound typically South African); "African" drums, xylophone and *mbira* (possibly sampled); township concertina. Warrick Sony was a musician with an unequalled aptitude at using tape loops, cut-ups, and subversive editing techniques (Drewett 2002: 88). Drafted from 1976 to 1978, he first went on a hunger strike and then, presenting himself as a Hindu pacifist, refused to take up arms. He was eventually deployed to a military

Koos Kombuis, one of the heroic figures of the rock movement who brought about "a palace revolution within Afrikanerdom".

orchestra and formed a punk band in the army. After being discharged he went to Cape Town, where he played with various rock and punk bands. He finally settled in Johannesburg and started recording as the Kalahari Surfers, which was in fact a name attached to his own experiments. He released a string of radical attacks against the government and caustic descriptions of conservative South African society, mixing musical inventiveness with sound collages. Warrick Sony was particularly keen on upsetting politicians' discourse. He selected extracts from official speeches, and reassembled them on a musical background in a way that changed, and sometimes inverted, their meaning (Drewett 2002). Many of the Kalahari Surfers' recordings were published in London, because of their anti-apartheid content, and were only available in South Africa as imports; Lloyd Ross' Shifty Records dared release a few others in South Africa; several of them were banned, including the "blasphemous" 1989 album, *Bigger than Jesus*.

What Warrick Sony did with music, the artists associated with the *Voëlvry* movement[108] did with Afrikaans. Bernoldus Niemand[109] (James Phillips), Koos Kombuis[110] (André le Roux du Toit, also known as André Letoit), and Johannes Kerkorrel[111] (Ralph John Rabie) attempted to desecrate Afrikaans by writing their lyrics in spoken language, crammed with slang, profanity and colloquial

expressions. "What made them unique, however, was that, within the anger, satire and withering contempt for the establishment, was a vision for a liberated language – Afrikaans as cool, as opposed to being the tongue of the oppressor" (Hopkins 2006: 142). Coming from the East Rand, Bernoldus Niemand was exposed to the first rock and roll "revolution" that started there. His time in the army was a traumatic experience which he conveyed intensely in his lyrics. He started singing in English (his native tongue) with Corporal Punishment and the Cherry Faced Lurchers and switched to Afrikaans to record *Wie is Bernoldus Niemand?* in 1984. Hidden behind a large Stetson hat which did not reveal his face, he put words describing graphically the army experience or the dullness of Pretoria against a folksy background enriched with complex chords. *Wie is Bernoldus Niemand?* sounded modern, while rooted in popular Afrikaans, and expressed with "honesty"[112] a form of "rebellious, anarchistic in-your-face" rejection of the current state of South African society (Kombuis 2009: 48).

Koos Kombuis was born and raised in the Western Cape. During his military service, his aim was so bad that he was posted to the fire brigade. He first became known as a writer under his real name (André Letoit) with *Somer II: 'n Plakboek*[113] published in 1985. This paradoxical text, "outrageous, formally experimental, risqué in terms of vocabulary and subject matter, critical of apartheid" (Barnard 1992: 83) was published by a "respectable" publishing house, Perskor[114]. Fascinated by Bernoldus Niemand, he started singing in Stellenbosch students' cafés, accompanied by his own guitar. In 1987, he self-recorded a cassette and sent it to Lloyd Ross of Shifty Records, who decided to commercialise it under the title *Ver van die Ou Kalahari* (Far from the Old Kalahari). It caused such a stir that *Rapport*, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, sent a young reporter named Ralph Rabie (Johannes Kerkorrel) to interview him. Koos Kombuis discovered that Ralph Rabie was a talented musician and asked him to sing with him. Koos Kombuis did not compose particularly original music, playing basic melodies on a background of simple guitar chords, but in his lyrics he continued to re-work the Afrikaans language, as he had started to do in his novels and poetry, suggesting small narratives that were simpler and had more coherence, and even sometimes a tinge of tenderness.

Although James Phillips/Bernoldus Niemand had explored the musical possibilities of rock and roll with the Cherry Faced Lurchers, in the *Voëlvry* movement, it was Johannes Kerkorrel who was the "real" rocker. Taking his cue from Chuck Berry, sometimes almost to the point of pastiche, he gave Afrikaans rock a blues sentiment supported by a solid beat. Lloyd Ross and the alternative

Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad* organised a tour which led Koos Kombuis, Johannes Kerkorrel and his Gereformeerde Blues Band[115], and Bernoldus Niemand and his Swart Gevaar[116] from Johannesburg back to Johannesburg, via most South African cities and Namibia, where they gave their only performance in a black township. They played on several campuses but were forbidden to perform at the University of Stellenbosch by the Rector, Mike de Vries. The banning from Stellenbosch triggered a wave of student marches and meetings, which were supported by a few academics such as law professor Gerhard Lubbe, who declared that there was, among Stellenbosch university teachers "[…] an ever growing understanding that the situation had to change dramatically and quickly" and invited the students to "become free, fly with the birds"[117]. Eventually, the *Voëlvry* concert took place at the Three Gables Hotel, a few kilometres out of town. The controversies it raised and the events that were linked to it (student protests, support from some professors, and the detention of Koos Kombuis by the Security Police) contributed to changes of attitude in the very heart of Afrikaner nationalism.

All in all, the music of the *Voëlvry* movement[118] was a far cry from the Kalahari Surfers or even the Cherry Faced Lurchers. But what it lacked in musical singularity was more than counterbalanced by the innovations *Voëlvry* brought in combining rock and folk with the profanation of Afrikaans, and what it implied in terms of its rejection of *Afrikanerdom* and *Volkseie*. Bernoldus Niemand, Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel aimed to liberate Afrikaans as a language, and the way they used it in their songs, or in their stage utterances[119], marked them as descendants of its creators, able to rejuvenate it by both going back to its roots and revolutionising it. Demonstrating that Afrikaans could be "cool", they wanted to show that it was not condemned to being an oppressive language, that it was possible to protest apartheid without forfeiting Afrikanerness (Hopkins 2006: 142–144). In their mouths, Afrikaans could mock the establishment and all its pillars: the transgression of *suiwer* (pure) language was meant as a blow to entrenched moral and religious prescriptions (Laubscher 2005: 313).

As a matter of fact, it was *Voëlvry*'s iconoclasm and irreverence rather than its politics that rocked Afrikanerdom (Baines 2008: 108). This was also, however, the main limitation of the movement: it was first and foremost a musical and linguistic movement, with only political inferences. *Voëlvry* artists had a fuzzy vision for the future. The metaphor of the "*Ossewa*" (ox wagon) sung by Johannes Kerkorrel on a powerful boogie shuffle evidently meant that Afrikaners could advance towards the future, in a "funky new rock n' roll ox wagon", but in the spirit of the trekkers

(Jury 1996: 108). Koos Kombuis acknowledged it unreservedly: "We wanted to return to the old values, the way Paul Kruger had said we should. We needed to retrieve our collective memory, to track down the good things we'd lost along the way. We were not trying to throw away our own culture. We wanted to restore it to its rightful place. It was our version of affirmative action […] We wanted to show the rest of South Africa: *ons is nie almal so nie* (some of us are nice people after all)" (Kombuis 2009: 252).

Voëlvry never developed into a fully fledged a social movement. According to Stellenbosch historian Albert Grundlingh: "It failed to evolve beyond protest music, lacked wider connections and did not inspire their followers to express themselves in unambiguous and meaningful political terms. At best it can be described as a moderate to weak social movement" (Grundlingh 2004: 498). However, continues Albert Grundlingh, the influence of *Voëlvry* cannot be completely discarded: "[…] it can be argued that *Voëlvry* carved out a new space for cultural contestation where the vague discomforts of Afrikaner youths could be addressed and perhaps assume a different form" (Grundlingh 2004: 505). Bernoldus Niemand, Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel lashed out at the Nationalist Party régime, condemned apartheid, ridiculed moral conventions, but they never attempted to escape from their milieu. Theirs was, in Koos Kombuis's words, "[…] a palace revolution within Afrikanerdom. We had woken up the Afrikaans youth from their Calvinist slumber, and prepared them for the inevitable cultural and political changes to come" (Kombuis 2009: 179). But although they sung about holidays in Lusaka, visiting the headquarters and talking to the ANC[120], they never connected with the liberation movements and did not participate in United Democratic Front (UDF) actions. The "Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement was never intentionally part of the liberation struggle. Rather, its goal was the emancipation of the Afrikaner youth from the strictures of their authoritarian, patriarchal culture. It is thus coincidental that *Voëlvry* became a nail in the coffin of apartheid" (Hopkins 2006: 19). On the backdrop of this observation, the symbolic dimension of music takes on a particular importance. *Voëlvry*'s music did not break new ground and, in particular, remained within the realm of Euro-American folk and rock without trying to link up with other styles performed by African or coloured musicians. The icons of this movement appeared totally disconnected from the fusions other South African musicians were experimenting with during the same period[121].

The most adventurous experiments, in this respect, were probably conducted by Jonathan "Johnny" Clegg and Sipho Mchunu. At the age of 15, Johnny Clegg, born in Britain, raised for a few years in Zimbabwe and then in Johannesburg, was

first exposed to Zulu migrant workers' music through Charles Mzila, a caretaker in charge of a building close to his mother's residence. With Charles Mzila, he started his initiation in guitar playing, dancing and stickfighting. In the early 1970s, he met a gardener from KwaZulu who was working in Houghton, Johannesburg, Sipho Mchunu, and started playing with him while continuing his on-the-ground training in different performative arts practised by Zulu migrant workers. At the same time, he enrolled at Wits University, got degrees in social anthropology and taught at his Alma Mater[122]. Sipho Mchunu and Johnny Clegg first performed as a duet, then formed a band, Juluka, in 1976. They played at hostels for migrant workers, toured as part of the Lion Lager Road Show that brought music to townships and rural areas, and appeared for white audiences at small clubs and big festivals around South Africa. Juluka released their first album, *Universal Men*, in 1979. Six years later, Sipho Mchunu decided to go back to KwaZulu to farm, and Johnny Clegg formed another group, Savuka, which included Dudu Zulu, Jabu and Steve Mabuso. The lyrics of many songs (such as "Work for All" or "*Asimbonanga*", to cite only two) performed by Juluka and Savuka conveyed an obvious political meaning. Yet the very existence of these groups, their performative styles and their music may have had an even more important political impact. Whenever they were together, Sipho Mchunu and Johnny Clegg infringed the law. They were frequently harassed by the police. Their performances were evidence that there were no barriers between the cultures they came from, that they could mix them in different manners, and create something new from their blending. In this way, they were a real challenge to the authorities: they publicly demonstrated that the ideological foundations of apartheid were absolutely fallacious and ethically unacceptable. As the chairman of the South African Musicians' Association in the 1980s, Johnny Clegg contributed to building strong links between musicians and the Mass Democratic Movement. Even though he was sometimes dubbed the "white Zulu", Johnny Clegg always made it very clear that he did not intend to play Zulu music, but to offer a stimulating mix of South African street music, Celtic Folk and British Rock; in the same perspective, his aim was to take dancing out of the tribal context and make it a central element of a musical show able to appeal to the most diverse audiences. The national and international success of Juluka and Savuka paved the way for other South African musicians (Andersson 1981: 160–163; Conrath 1988; Galane 2008: 122–125).

Created in 1983 by, among others, pennywhistler "Big Voice" Jack Lerole, bassist John Leyden, and trombonist Mickey Vilikazi, starring the voices of British-born Claire Johnston and Marilyn Nokwe, Mango Groove provided more proof

that different genres of South African music could easily be mixed and fused with international pop. They revived black urban music of the 1950s (*kwela*, African jazz, *isicathamiya*, *simanje-manje*) and packaged it in a modern pop music aesthetic. Fronted by black and white instrumentalists and vocalists, even though the lead singer was Claire Johnston, they immediately crossed over and became popular with both black and white South African audiences. Another band who, in the words of Max Mojapelo, "defied the colour bar in the Republic of South Africa" (Galane 2008: 125) was Hotline, formed in Johannesburg in 1980. Their star was Penelope Jane Dunlop, who rapidly became extremely popular in black townships under the name PJ Powers, and the affectionate nickname black fans gave her "Thandeka" (the one we love). Born in KwaZulu-Natal, PJ Powers spoke and sung fluent isiZulu. Coming from hard rock, Hotline, and PJ Powers who went solo in 1987, created a brand of Afro-rock which gave urban South African musics a more pronounced rocky beat than Mango Groove, a beat above which PJ Powers could intensely meld African and European pop vocal techniques. In 1988, she was banned from radio and television after she had performed alongside Miriam Makeba and Harry Belafonte at a charity concert in Zimbabwe; but that did not in the least affect her popularity with both black and white South Africans. The Durban-based group Zia[123] adopted an "ethno-rock look and sound" (Chilvers & Jasiukowicz 1994: 145–146). Cindy Alter, Liz Mngomezulu, Lawrence Mkhize, and Reg Edwards, provocatively played on the possibility of exchanging cultural attributes ordinarily assigned to Europeans or Africans. If the meaning of their song "Waiting for the Wind" (*Kant'Unjani*?, 1987) was not directly asserted (Shoup 1997: 78), the addition of "*Woza Moya*"[124] combined with a reference to Harold Macmillan's 1960 speech[125] made it quite transparent, and the video clip of the song[126] left no doubt that a hurricane was going to shatter white conservative domination, and that a joyous maelstrom of black and white youth, the one dressed as the others are supposed to be (whites in African "traditional" garb, blacks in "European" suits) was ready to take over (Martin 1992b).

Cape Town fusions

This detour through the development of South African rock and pop in the 1970s and 1980s provides the backdrop against which Cape Town musicians endeavoured to assert their uniqueness in a period where deliberate attempts at reinvigorating South African popular musics implied reworking both language and sounds. Even before the *Voëlvry* movement started to erode official Afrikaans, David Kramer was using it in his own peculiar way, on a musical background permeated with

rural songs and dances from the Western Cape. On the rock scene, Bright Blue amalgamated township music, American rock and British new wave to create a style that was both enjoyable and imbued with political statements.

David Kramer was born in Worcester, a bustling town about 120 kilometres from Cape Town, in 1951[127]. He received some musical tuition from Cromwell Everson, the first South African to compose an opera based on his own Afrikaans libretto[128]. After matriculating, he went to study in Great Britain, at Leeds University, where he obtained a degree in textile design. Back in South Africa, he started performing satirical songs in clubs and on campuses. Influenced by American folk singers, he was associated with the *Musiek en Liriek* movement for a time, but he rapidly imposed a less romantic, more down-to-earth personal style. He created a stage character sporting a small black hat, a waistcoat and red shoes, which an advertisement for Volkswagen's microbus contributed to making extremely popular. Posing as *almal se pêl* (everybody's friend), he looked at white South Africa with an apparent naïveté that allowed him to ridicule it. The satire in his songs was expressed through metaphors and double entendres made possible by mixing English and Afrikaans, especially in its coloured rural idiomatic forms. David Kramer explained: "I was born and grew up in Worcester which is very much part of the Boland, and it's the music I heard on the farms there, played by the coloured people, and it's the music being played on Saturday in the town square, the sort of gospel-evangelist type music by the coloured people, and of course the kind of *boereorkeste* that you can get down there, and then in Cape Town the *Klopse*. 'Boland Blues' just became a kind of an apt description for what I was doing" (quoted in Andersson 1981: 151). He became a Western Cape folk singer – inspired by rural African American bluesmen[129] and white American folkies – who reminded his audiences, mostly Afrikaners, that their language, their music, their cuisine, in brief their culture, were mixed. He aimed to bring about a new awareness through humour: "I see things in a particular way and I want people to see things the way I see them. I want the songs to be thought provoking. But I avoid strong messages in the songs […] There are little messages here and there, but they're not radical – just liberal snippets" (quoted in Andersson 1981: 151). His debut album *Bakgat!* (1980) was banned because the lyrics were found too offensive and blasphemous. Yet, the implicit denunciation of apartheid his songs conveyed were often too subtle to be understood by many of his listeners; the elements of coloured rural music he introduced in his melodies sounded so "natural" that they could not unsettle his fans, many of whom were conservative Afrikaners.

David Kramer realised that his "everybody's friend" was clouded with misunderstanding: "[…] I was becoming quite disillusioned with people misinterpreting what I really was trying to do, and that there wasn't really a lot of emphasis on issues of language and cultural policies and so on, and also I got involved with the Volkswagen commercials and I suppose people started seeing me much more as just a comedian […] So, sort of by the mid-80s a sense of disillusion had set in […] It was the time of the State of Emergency and the country was really in a bad, bad way – and suddenly I looked at myself and I didn't like what I saw. This happy-go-lucky guy making everybody feel good, and I decided to try and get back to where I had started. And that's what led me to doing *Baboondogs*" (quoted in Drewett 2002: 85). Released in 1986, *Baboondogs* contained rock and folk numbers. The lyrics were much less ambiguous than previously. "Dry Wine" is unequivocal: "[…] nothing disturbs the suburbs quiet / Not the sirens or the news of a township riot / Knowing it all from the distance of headlines / I express my opinion / With a mouthful of dry wine". And "*Bobbejaan Bobbejaan*" alludes indirectly but harshly to the fact that some white South Africans used to call Africans "baboons"[130].

In the same year *Baboondogs* was released, David Kramer started his collaboration with Taliep Petersen[131]. Together they composed and wrote *District Six: The Musical*, which was performed for the first time at the Baxter Theatre in April 1987. This musical depicted with humour and tenderness life in District Six before it was demolished. It told of the aspirations and dreams of talented young people in a way that highlighted the brutality of apartheid, and the connections between gangsters and "the law". *District Six: The Musical* was to be followed by six other musicals[132], several in the same vein as *District Six* (*Fairyland*, *Crooners*, *Kat and the Kings*), others dealing with the problems faced by Cape Town coloured communities in the post-apartheid period (*Poison*). Finally, with *Ghoema*, their last joint production before Taliep Peterson was murdered in 2006, they recounted how new musical forms emerged in Cape Town, and brought to the foreground the determining role slaves played in this process. When David Kramer and Taliep Petersen started writing songs and musicals together, apartheid was on the brink of collapse, yet the type of "interracial" cooperation they embodied was still unusual. As such it underlined the inanity of segregation. Moreover, it demonstrated the commonalities uniting various musical traditions of the Western Cape and the artificiality of their ascription to different groups. David Kramer and Taliep Petersen used their musical talent and their sense of humour to attract large audiences, in South Africa as well as overseas, to shows through which they wanted "[…] to tell the stories of people who had been suppressed by

apartheid and whose story hadn't been told, and to expose the amazing […] the sort of invisible part of Cape Town […]"[133]. The citation for Taliep Peterson issued by the University of Cape Town aptly summarised their contribution to South African music: "[…] Petersen and Kramer were not only musicians, with warm and infectious humour, able to put together catchy tunes but also deadly serious social historians determined to recapture and give back to people, through popular songs, the history of which they had been robbed over centuries of oppression"[134].

David Kramer appeared on the Western Cape scene in the wake of the *Musiek en Liriek* movement, and is considered to have paved the way for *Voëlvry* artists (Du Preez 2006: 7) because "[…] he was one of the pre-eminent white artists to take up the struggle to wrest Afrikaans from the stranglehold of apartheid-era language and cultural policing by reconnecting it to its folk roots" (De Villiers, Slabbert 2011: 29). The founders of Bright Blue[135] located themselves on the English-speaking South African rock and pop scene, and displayed a flair for musical mixtures and a political commitment that linked them back to Warrick Sonny and the Kalahari Surfers, although in a very different manner. Their sound immediately marked them as both South African – because it amalgamated black township music (jive, *mbaqanga*) with rock rhythms – and part of the modern pop world – as their melodic sense clearly carried influences of British pop. Formed in Cape Town, Bright Blue sang about the contradictions of life in a South Africa where whites could rest in apparent tranquillity while parts of the country had become uncontrollable. They moved to Johannesburg and recorded their first album, *Bright Blue* (1984), following which two members of the band, Ian Cohen (bass) and Dan Heymann (keyboards) were drafted. In 1988, they recorded a song titled "The Rising Tide", in support of David Bruce, who had been sentenced to six years in prison for refusing to serve in the South African Defence Force (Drewett 2003: 92). But another song on the same album (*The Rising Tide*, 1988) was going to make a greater impact on South African youth. While in the army, Dan Heymann composed a tune to which, a year later, he put words exposing the hypocrisy of the government and of those South Africans who did not want to see the reality. In "Weeping", Bright Blue sang:

I knew a man who lived in fear
It was huge, it was angry, it was drawing near
Behind his house, a secret place
Was the shadow of the demon he could never face
He built a wall of steel and flame
And men with guns, to keep it tame […]

Then standing back, he made it plain
That the nightmare would never ever rise again
But the fear and the fire and the guns remain […]
And then one day the neighbours came
They were curious to know about the smoke and flame
They stood around outside the wall
But of course there was nothing to be heard at all
"My friends," he said, "We've reached our goal
The threat is under firm control
As long as peace and order reign
I'll be damned if I can see a reason to explain
Why the fear and the fire and the guns remain."

Dan Heymann later clarified the meaning of these metaphorical words: "The man referred to in the 'Weeping' lyrics is the late P. W. Botha, one of the last white leaders of South Africa before the end of the Apartheid regime; the demon he could never face in the 'Weeping' lyrics refers to the aspirations of the oppressed majority, while the 'Weeping' lyrics also refer to the neighbours, literally the journalists from other countries who were monitoring the situation in South Africa."[136] Musically, "Weeping" crossed boundaries between racial categories in combining township flavours, the rhythms of pop-rock, the sound of Cape Town saxophonist Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee, and a quotation of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*", which it was at the time forbidden to play. In spite of this act of musical defiance, "Weeping" was not banned and for two weeks it remained number one on the government-owned Radio Five. "Weeping" was considered a landmark in the contribution of popular music to the anti-apartheid struggle. It was later covered by many artists, including Vusi Mahlesela and the Soweto String Quartet, and Bright Blue played it live, in the presence of Nelson Mandela, during a 1990 concert for returning exiles in Mitchell's Plain.

"Art" music[137]

In retrospect, the situation of "classical" or "art" music in 20th century Cape Town looks paradoxical. On the one hand, European "art" music was the legitimate form of music, ideologically deemed superior to any other and it constituted one of the emblems of the alleged superiority of European civilisation. On the other, little effort was made to place it at the centre of social and cultural life.

Speaking about musical creation in South Africa in general, and Cape Town was no exception, Percival Kirby[138], the ethnomusicologist and composer who founded the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra in 1927, painted to a British audience a rather bleak picture of the situation in 1937: "[…] so far with very few exceptions the music I have found by native composers has been a weak imitation of poor European models. Mr Wendt himself has set a number of native melodies which he took from a book by Mr Scully, and has set these part-songs for male voices[139]. But, of course the harmonies there are purely European. Professor Bell used some of the same tunes and wrought them in a *South African Symphony* which had a performance in this country, I think in Birmingham[140]. That is the only major work which incorporates native folk music with which I am familiar. I myself have written *Three African Idylls* for soprano and string quintet which are based on Bantu melodies" (Kirby 1937: 36–37).

"To fuse or not to fuse?": The dilemma of white South African composers

It seems like South African composers were faced with the following dilemma: how is it possible to write "art" music in a basically European language, while asserting a South African personality that could only be expressed by incorporating elements taken from black musics? How is it possible to compose "classical" music with a recognisable South African identity? While Theo Wendt attempted to harmonise and orchestrate "African songs", W.H. Bell used not so much African music but South African landscapes as an inspiration which did not translate into the sounds of his *South African Symphony*. Percival Kirby himself arranged African music, using simple western techniques. According to Christine Lucia: "[…] it shows how Kirby *interpreted* African music compositionally, seeing its elements as in need of framing, of the civilising lineaments of western harmonic embellishment" (Lucia 2007: 172). "Conforming to western expectations" forbade Percival Kirby the liberties his student Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa took with European "art" music. J.P. Mohapeloa's *Meloli le Lithallere tsa Afrika* (African melodies in decorative counterdisplay or counterpoint) evidenced a skill at combining various sources, put in the service of a compositional ambition that located it within a realm of African modernity (Coplan 2008: 141–143; Lucia 2007, 2008: 19). Indeed, African composers such as J.P. Mohapeloa[141] or Michael Moerane[142] (who explored a new "African concept of dissonance") (Lucia 2007: 175) were in a different position to confront the dilemma resulting from the need, or the will, to combine western canons and African musical forms. They could draw on the experience of several decades of *makwaya* compositions and, even if they still

used tonic sol-fa, had no reservations about working at a rapprochement between European and African music in order to invent new musics for the South Africa of their time. They did not have to "resist the prevalent anti-African aesthetic" (Scherzinger 2005: 321) white South African composers were raised into, and were able to side-step "the world of European musical modernity" to engage with modernities of their own, "unashamedly eclectic, drawing on everything available" (Lucia 2008: 19). The popularity J.P. Mohapeloa and Michael Moerane gained among African musicians, choirs and audiences indeed encouraged them to persist in that direction.

The attitude of white South African composers – be it refusing to introduce African elements in their music, or considering that they ought to be "civilised" within a European frame – began to change in the late 1970s. The first signal that composers were ill at ease with the hardening of apartheid in the 1960s was the decision taken by the Southern African Music Rights Organisation, when it was established in 1961, that its membership would be non-racial, thereby contravening segregation laws. This was essentially a symbolic gesture, since only one of the 60 musicians who were affiliated to the organisation when it started was black; but it proclaimed, even with discretion, that "music, after all, knows no colour bar" (Roosenschoon 1992: 9). In those times, music, especially "contemporary" music, was definitely not a priority for the government. Composer Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph remembers that " […] the lack of interest in and/or resistance to contemporary music were symptomatic of the times, and audiences were painfully small […] During the 1970s in South Africa a composer was dependent on either the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) or the Southern African Music Rights Organization (SAMRO) for a commission."[143]

However, the authorities eventually recognised the importance of music and, in the early 1980s, appointed a Commission of Enquiry into the Promotion of Creative Arts, whose mandate was to suggest measures to stimulate and promote creative activity in music (as well as in literature and the arts) among all South Africa's population groups. Its recommendations resulted in the creation of a Foundation for the Creative Arts in 1989, which commissioned "cross-cultural works", that is, according to the list given by Hans Roosenschoon[144], compositions by white South Africans alluding to Africa or incorporating African musical elements (Roosenschoon 1992: 12–14). At the same time, several composers attempted "[…] to identify local forms of African music *as* a self-contained form of 'art' music" (Scherzinger 2005: 320) that could provide material for original compositions. They found justification in European and American composers'

(Pierre Boulez, Steve Reich, György Ligeti, among others) acknowledgement of the importance of African music to the development of "contemporary" western music (Scherzinger 2005: 323). Pianist Graham Fitch finds that "[t]oday's composers, while fully acknowledging their debt to their European background (either through the lineage of their teachers at home or because they actually studied overseas) are at pains to point out their essential African-ness"[145]. And, at the beginning of the 21st century, SAMRO only commissions works with a cross-cultural dimension, which Kevin Volans considers "[…] not unreasonable if inappropriate for a commissioning body, who should not attempt to influence content"[146].

For the past 40 years, the question has no longer been "Is it necessary or productive to make South African 'art' music sound African?", but "How is it possible to do this?". Reviewing different solutions adopted by South African musicians, Ingrid Byerly identifies, in the field of "art" music, three main techniques. First, the fusion, by juxtaposition or superimposition, of two tunes belonging to different musical genres: as early as 1966, Hubert du Plessis connected the first phrase of "*Die Stem*" (The Voice of South Africa) – the then national anthem – with the first phrase of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*" in the conclusion of his *Suid-Afrika – Nag en Daeraad* (South Africa, Night and Daybreak), anticipating what was to become the anthem of the new South Africa (Byerly 1998: 24–25; Levy 1986: 6). Second, the merging of two or more styles or genres within a single piece, a device which seems to have been frequently used, starting with Ali Rahbari[147], who in his 1982 *Half Moon* fused European symphonic conceptions with black choral traditions (Byerly 1998: 25; Byerly 2008: 260), followed by Hans Rosenschoon, Kevin Volans, Stefans Grové and Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph. The third technique of amalgamation is quite similar, but carries political overtones, evident in David Hoenigsberg's *Threnody for the Victims of Boipatong* and *Soweto 1976: Sonata for Double String Orchestra and Percussion* or in John Simon's *Threnody for Steve Biko* (1983), which was embargoed by the SABC until 1993 (Byerly 1998: 26).

Kevin Volans' remarks about SAMRO commissioning only "cross-cultural" works suggest that the "Africanisation" of South African "art" music may sometimes be opportunistic. John Simon emphasises this point of view when he considers that the incorporation of African themes and rhythms is engineered "[…] in most cases for the wrong reasons. The *real* problem is that South African 'serious' music has a 'bureaucratic' feel; it lacks humanity and warmth; 'magic moments' are exceptionally rare. By incorporating 'African' rhythms and tunes into such music, composers are not going to help improve its image. South

African composers need to open their hearts and to experience the suffering of their fellow countrymen. Their *ears* have been closed for too long to the cries of anguish. They need to write 'from the heart to the heart'" (quoted in Levy 1986: 2). However relevant these considerations may be with regards to the attitudes of many South African composers during the second half of the 20th century, they should not conceal the fact that "[d]uring several decades prior to that [the 1992 referendum], South African creative artists, many of them composers, voiced their conceptual rejection of apartheid, not only verbally, but also, and perhaps more deeply, via the elemental voice of their art" (Rosenschoon 1992: 1). These composers endeavoured to imagine new styles of music that would find themselves in harmony with the evolution of South Africa. Kevin Volans assumed that this required a kind of Copernican revolution: "What White Africans need to do more urgently is find ways of modifying western culture to adapt to and integrate with African culture."[148] Hans Roosenschoon went even further when he declared, in response to a questionnaire circulated by Michael S. Levy, head of SAMRO's "Serious Music Department", that in fact the problems created by thinking in terms of a fusion of European and African elements would be overcome if a radically new approach were adopted: by considering both African and European music as just music, beyond categories and boundaries (Roosenschoon, quoted in Levy 1986: 4).

In search of a South African "art" music

W.H. Bell, Theo Wendt and Percival Kirby tried to introduce an idea of Africa in their music. They alluded to its landscapes or integrated African musical traits in compositions that remained wholly European. They launched a trend, which was to last for several decades, and could be called "internal exoticism", a trend which shares quite a number of similarities – in terms of attitude towards and treatment of "alien" musical material – with the Orientalism of 19th century Russian composers, or the "Hispanicism" of 19th and early 20th century French composers. They created a picturesque and colourful musical world that was a pure figment of their imagination and was totally divorced from the realities they pretended to depict or draw their inspiration from. In other words, they did not consider the Other for herself, but looked at her as an object that could be appropriated and transformed according to their own fantasies. In the 1970s and 1980s, although the temptations of internal exoticism did not completely vanish, a new generation of musicians adopted different approaches and endeavoured to find new ways to combine European and African music, without necessarily reshaping the latter according to the former's aesthetics.

Stanley Glasser (1926–) was not really interested in mixing African and European musics for the sake of mixing them. He wanted to compose music attuned to 1950s South Africa, based on urban sounds and meant for theatrical entertainment. As already mentioned[149] he participated in the production of *King Kong* and wrote the musical *Mr Paljas*. After he left South Africa, he taught at Goldsmiths College, University of London, where he explored many directions in contemporary music, especially electro-acoustic music. However, he did not sever his connection to South Africa and, in 1977, wrote *Lalela Zulu* (Listen O Zulu), a suite of six vocal pieces using poems by Lewis Nkosi, which sounds like a formalisation of the art of *isicathamiya* ensembles[150].

After studying in the United States, under among others Walter Piston and Aaron Copland, Stefans Grové[151] (1922–) returned to South Africa in 1972 to teach at the University of Pretoria. In the 1950s, he evolved towards what he called an "Afrocentric style" characterised by the introduction of African elements in the very fabric of his music, which, he underlined, was an alternative to using them as decorative motifs re-fashioned according to western rules. He presented his *Sonate op Afrika-motiewe* (Sonate on African motifs) for violin and piano (1984) "[…] as a bridge between my Eurocentric and my Afrocentric styles, as the first two sections represent my leave taking of my previous style, whilst the last three are my first homage to the way I am bound to Africa" (quoted in Muller S. 2005: 289). The novelty of this piece consisted, according to musicologist Stephanus Muller, in that "[t]his is music that conceives of Africa as a *meaning* (and identity), not as subject. But, and this is an important difference, with Grové the adoption of Africa as analog is both an act of participation in the reconstruction of meaning *and* social gestus. This music does not metaphorically enact the crossing of two opposed worlds, but rather suggests a gesture at interaction between two facets of the same social space" (Muller S. 2005: 297).

Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph (1948–) is known to have successfully managed to combine "*Die Stem*", the anthem of the "old" South Africa with the hymn of the liberation movement, "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*", to form the anthem of post-apartheid South Africa – an example of the first mode of fusion, by juxtaposition or superimposition, identified by Ingrid Byerly (Byerly1998: 24). But she is first of all a piano virtuoso and a fully fledged composer who felt discriminated against as a woman[152]. She was the first South African woman to be awarded a Doctorate in Music Composition (1979) and went on to study in Hamburg with György Ligeti, who had been interested in African music for a long time. She returned to South Africa in 1975, and took up a position as lecturer at the Wits School of

Music. Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph's *Virtuoso 1*, commissioned by UNISA for its fourth International Piano Competition in 1988, bears György Ligeti's mark in the way she treats rhythms and uses changing metres. Regarding her works in general, she claims: "My roots are in Africa but the branches of my soul reach out to the Spiritual World of religious mysticism, which is a powerful driving force in my work."[153]

Kevins Volans (1949–) acquired international fame thanks to the interpretation the Kronos Quartet gave of his *White Man Sleeps* in 1986. This piece was originally written in 1982 for harpsichord and viola da gamba. The heptatonic tuning of the harpsichord – derived from Shona music for the *mbira* lamellaphone – retained in the string quartet version, makes the piece "sound African" (Fletcher et al. 2005: 258). But, beyond the first impression, the texture and structure of *White Man Sleeps* represent a reflection on the "translatability"[154] of the instruments' colours and sounds. The composer underlined that, in that manner, he wanted "[…] to reflect in the music an image of a multicultural society – one in which the traditions of different cultures are represented, honoured and, above all, shared – no more 'separate development'! […] By introducing some strictly non-western aspects of African music into the European concert repertoire I hoped to gently set up an African colonisation of western music and instruments and thus preserve some unique qualities, albeit in a new form. It was a bit like introducing an African computer virus into the heart of western contemporary music […] I came to regard the work as my small contribution to the struggle against apartheid."[155] *White Man Sleeps* is part of a series of *African Paraphrases* (a term Kevin Volans later rejected) which he started composing at the end of the 1970s, after studying in Germany where he became closely associated with Karlheinz Stockhausen. In the treatment of African music he exemplifies in his *Paraphrases*, Kevin Volans probably adapted some of Karlheinze Stockhausen's compositional principles related to the conception of structure as "timbre", which encompasses a tight relationship between colour and time. This provided the basis for the "reconciliation of aesthetics" (Taylor 1995: 512) he wanted to achieve, a reconciliation which would put in question European hegemony over "art" music, and consequently, repudiate apartheid's aesthetical conceptions. Kevin Volans' embrace of African music shatters the clichés attached to it: the primacy of rhythm and its functionalist essence (Scherzinger 2008: 219). The ambiguities of Kevin Volans' mode of reconciliation have been underlined (Taylor 1995), but Martin Scherzinger insists that Kevin Volans' intentions did, at least in part, result in proposing a new mode of thinking African music "outside of the metaphorics of indigenous 'cultural practice'" (Scherzinger 2008: 221) and strongly stated: "[…]

while it must be acknowledged that Volans' musical *appropriations* are double-edged – both taking without authority *and* offering something suitable and proper to African music – I want to emphasise and exaggerate the importance of the latter in relation to the politics of apartheid" (Scherzinger 2008: 230–231).

Cape Town: From internal exoticism to Africa as a consciousness

Composers from Cape Town, or the Western Cape, went through the same interrogations and hesitations about the fusion of African and European musics. One of the differences is that they were living in or around the Cape, exposed to a more variegated sample of black music, since they were surrounded not only with musics produced by Africans (and stronger memories of the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen) but also with musics played by rural and urban coloureds. The doyen of Western Cape composers, Gideon Fagan[156], appears to have followed the path opened by W.H. Bell, especially in his *Karoo Symphony* (1976–77), a kind of symphonic poem, which describes arid expanses of the Karoo, its fauna and "phantoms", its storms and flowers. His earlier *Ilala (Tone Poem)* (1942), which evokes David Livingstone's last moments in the village of Ilala (today's Zambia), provides an example of internal exoticism, in a vein similar to Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*. Gideon Fagan, who came back to South Africa in 1949 and was employed by the SABC, did not seem to have any reservations about apartheid. Arnold van Wyk (1916–1983), however, disagreed with the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism and tried to remain aloof from it. He did not look outside European traditions for material to express his reticence, but on the contrary shut himself up in a romantic bubble that kept him apart from the society he had been born in and in which he continued to live (Muller S. 2008: 296). Hubert du Plessis (1922–) adopted quite a different stance. Educated in South Africa and Great Britain, taught by W.H. Bell, he did not reject his Afrikanerness, nor did he oppose segregation and apartheid. In 1960, he orchestrated "*Die Stem*" at the request of the SABC[157]; he composed a *Huguenot Cantata* which was performed during the Huguenot Festival festivities in 1988; and he set to music Afrikaans poets, including his namesake I.D. du Plessis. Two of Hubert du Plessis' vocal compositions are based on poems penned by I.D. du Plessis: *Vreemde Liefde* (Foreign/strange love, 1951) and *Slamse Beelde* (Malay scenes/images) for choir and orchestra (1959), the words of which come from I.D. du Plessis' collection *Die Flammend Fez* (The flaming fez). The musical language of the *Slamse Beelde* remains wholly European and post-romantic. These "scenes" do not entertain a strong relationship with the songs of the *Sangkore* and the *Klopse*, but allude to

them as objects absorbed in the composer's imagination and reworked according to his fantasies. Claiming to describe "typical incidents in Cape Malay Life", they abound in picturesque suggestions conveyed by the use of modes and scales supposed to come from "Malay" music, and culminate in the supposed rendition of the *adhān* (Muslim call to prayer: *Allāhu Ākbar*) by a clarinet[158]. Hubert du Plessis' internal exoticism fell totally in line with I.D. du Plessis' Orientalist treatment of "Malay" culture. In order to singularise the "Malays", to separate them from the rest of Cape Town's population and, in particular, from the rest of the coloureds, the poet, who was to become apartheid's Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, constructed a spurious image of Capetonian Muslims, ensconced in traditions (cuisine, clothing, religion, music, architecture) that, he thought, needed to be preserved as evidence of their difference from other South Africans (Jeppie 1987).

Other composers used music, or rather, titles they gave to their compositions, to make explicit political statements. In 1989 Peter Klatzow[159] wrote an anthem titled "God Bless Africa" (the English translation of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*") with words by Father Trevor Huddleston[160], and in 1991 "Songs of an Exile" on texts by the exiled poet Dennis Brutus. John Simon (1944–) left his home town, Cape Town, in 1965 and went into self-imposed exile because of his opposition to apartheid. In 1981, just after he returned to South Africa, he composed *Threnody 2 for Strings*, dedicated to Steve Biko, which was embargoed by the SABC until 1993.

Two Dutch composers experimented with the introduction of African elements in contemporary compositions. Roelof Temmingh was born in Amsterdam in 1946. His family emigrated to South Africa in 1958 and settled near Cape Town. He studied with Gideon Fagan at the University of Cape Town, then with Karlheinz Stockhausen, György Ligeti and Mauricio Kagel in Darmstadt (Germany). His works denote an influence from the Darmstadt school and frequently utilise electronic and concrete sound-production devices. But Roelof Temmingh was also interested in the way in which Béla Bártok and Dmitri Shostakovich treated "folk" material, and he used African pentatonic modes in the second ("Penta and dodeka") of his *Drie Sonnette* (1988). At this time (the late 1980s), Hans Roosenschoon had already brought about a revolution in South African "art" music. Born in The Hague in 1952, he came to South Africa in 1953. He studied in Pretoria and London and came back to South Africa in 1978. He almost immediately began to work on compositions in which he would not try to "paraphrase the music of certain people specifically", but rather strive "to capture an 'African spirit'"[161]. The first attempt at realising this programme was *Makietie* for brass quintet (1978), variations on a theme inspired by a Xhosa song, "*qongqothwane*"

("The Click Song"). In *Ghomma* (1980), an orchestral composition referring to the music of the *Sangkore* and the Klopse, which was used in 1981 as a test piece for the SABC's conductors competition, Hans Roosenschoon completely eluded the picturesque. He weaved a sonic fabric in which the sounds of guitars, banjos and *ghoema* drums were transformed into tone-colour-melodies assembled on a simple rhythmic pattern which sounded not like the *ghoema* beat but like a slower and heavier derivation of its formula. The most daring of his "African inspired works"[162] is probably *Timbila*.

In 1984, Hans Roosenschoon was commissioned by the Oude Meester Foundation for the Performing Arts to write a piece for a symphony orchestra and an African instrumental group. Remembering Ali Rhabari's *Half Moon*, he thought of working with the Cape Town *marimba* ensemble Amampondo, but could not convince them to take part in the experiment. Following exchanges with Andrew Tracey, he then decided to work from the music of a xylophone orchestra composed of Chopi musicians, migrants from southern Mozambique based at a mine near Rustenburg. He selected from their repertoire a piece – "*Mtsitso*", the opening part of a seven movements suite, *Mgodo* – whose "clear structure"[163] would allow him to develop his own writing. The structure of the piece is constructed according to the Chopi "*Mtsitso*". The symphony orchestra taking up the basic "*Mtsitso*" motif (do-re-mi-do) in many variegated arrangements, alternating between passages in strict metre and others in free time, while the Chopi musicians keep playing on a regular beat. *Timbila* (the name Chopi musicians give to the family of xylophones they play) offers an example of interactive cooperation between a symphonic orchestra, executing a written score, and an African ensemble, playing a defined piece by ear. *Timbila* eschews any form of hierarchy between European and African music and does not lead to the dilution of one genre of music into the other, but creates the condition for an exchange in the course of which appears progressively something literally unheard of[164].

While he continued to develop a very personal style[165] within the realm of contemporary "art" music, Hans Roosenschoon pursued his efforts of bringing together European contemporary and South African music in a few subsequent works. In *Circle of Light* (1989) he delves into several aspects of a Xhosa song[166]. In the ballet *Mantis* (1988), inspired by Bushman tales, he integrates in atonal language Xhosa songs taken from Amampondo's repertoire, in order to create "a musical dichotomy with its own significance"[167]. These works constitute the unfinished answer to questions Hans Roosenschoon posed in 1986 regarding the relevance of categories distinguishing between musics, and between composers according to

their attitude towards European "art" music and African indigenous music: "[…] is it sincere to identify with one or the other exclusively? Are we dealing here with a musical apartheid, or are we part of an experience which embraces multiplicity and evolution?" (quoted in Levy 1986: 4). The embrace was made possible because, transcending impressionism or exoticism, Hans Roosenschoon decided to do away with categories – European music, African music – and consider only music: music already created and music that could come into being and correspond to the South African changing environment (Levy 1986: 4). This is how, via "the elemental voice" of his art, he voiced his "conceptual rejection of apartheid" (Roosenschoon 1992: 1). Hans Roosenschoon's major contribution to South African "art" music was to demonstrate that elements taken from African musics should not be treated as decorative motifs or themes to be recycled according to European aesthetics, but as organic material to be developed following a logic which is neither fully European nor fully African, but invented for the purpose of creating the conditions for a process of cross-fertilisation likely to generate new sounds and new forms.

Following in the steps of Hans Roosenschoon (as well as those of Kevin Volans and Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph), Johan Cloete abandoned, after a series of personal tribulations, what he later considers to have been "a straitjacket of avant-garde mannerism" (Cloete 2009: 2–3). He began to investigate the possibility of a "cultural patois" akin to the sonic environment of the rural Western Cape where he spent his youth. He soon overcame the temptation of "dabbling in cross-cultural marauding" (Cloete 2009: 15), to undertake the "Africanisation" of his music, whereby Africa would emerge "as a consciousness, and not as a voice per se" and provide formative elements in order to challenge "phantasmatic whiteness" (Cloete 2009: 26, 46, 93). Several pieces composed around 1985 exemplify his new approach: *Thanatos-on-Ice*, *Poussin in Africa*, *Pink Narcissus*. In *Celebration* (1986), an expansion of *Township I* for harpsichord, Johan Cloete used "township tunes" recorded by Hugh Tracey, which he treated as *objets trouvés* (found objects) to transform them into products of the minimalist and post-minimalist American order (Philip Glass, Steve Reich and Terry Riley) (Cloete 2009:13), not without suggesting reminiscences of Darius Milhaud's *Le Boeuf sur le Toit*.

The deliberate will expressed by musicians like Hans Roosenschoon and Johan Cloete to participate in experiences that embrace "multiplicity and evolution", in which Africa emerges as "a consciousness", clearly indicates that, before 1990, at least a few composers had decided to reconsider the position of "art" music in South Africa. They demonstrated that "art" music in South Africa could not make sense in their country if it continued to be exclusively tied to extraneous

traditions and dependant on exogenous trends. While the creative work of South African composers cannot avoid remaining inscribed within an ancient history of music-making originating in Europe, Hans Roosenschoon, Johan Cloete and others mentioned in the preceding paragraphs have shown that they could reassess this legacy in a new perspective: that of creating original music that will be *at the same time* South African and universal, universal because South African.

* * *

The history of music in Cape Town during most of the 20th century illustrates one of the postulates proposed by Édouard Glissant: that creolisation is a never-ending process. Twentieth century innovations have continued to develop and diversify from the creole base that took shape during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. They fuelled persistent dynamics of blending and creating from blending which produced a permanently renewed string of unpredictable musics, of music that could not have been foreseen (or rather "foreheard") several decades before their appearance. What makes creolisation processes – especially South African creolisation processes – unique is that they generate creations in conditions of oppression and violence, in spite of the subjugation and humiliation colonised people have been submitted to. Slavery, segregation and apartheid created categories of people, created a hierarchy around them and tried to control and limit contacts between individuals classified in various categories. In the course of the 20th century, measures were adopted to separate people. Forced removals, separate amenities, and prohibition of marriage or sexual relations between members of "different" groups aimed at isolating people, at imprisoning them in spaces, positions and cultures that were forcibly assigned to them. Yet, despite the violence with which policies of segregation and apartheid were implemented during the 20th century, they did not succeed in preventing contacts, circulations, exchanges and creations that transcended barriers erected to confine members of each category within separate spheres.

The strategies of identity ascription used by the authorities had contrasting effects. The delineation of categories and the constitution of "racial" areas fashioned social networks and gave rise to particular forms of sociability; they contributed to the emergence of feelings of belonging which – to sum up a protracted and complex process – transformed categories in social groups, that is turned artificial human aggregates into social entities to which individuals felt related, attached, and of which they wanted to be proud (Noiriel 1997: 31). However, the coalescence of social groups based on bureaucratic categories was accompanied by a redefinition

of each of the groups' identity. Members of a social group cemented by feelings of belonging, affective attachments and pride could not accept an imposed identity that had been defined by racist authorities. The consolidation of a group implied that its members gave it new meanings, opposed and contradictory to the original meanings fabricated by the authorities. The effort of re-configuration and re-signification of a group's identity spurred on creation, and creation in turn provided meaningful resources for fashioning a self-defined identity.

Music played a significant role in these efforts to appropriate imposed categories and to transmute them by overturning their signification and transforming them from a yoke of degradation into a banner of pride. Social groups accommodated endogenous dynamics of creation: they produced musics which were theirs, that they claimed, enjoyed and were proud of, or came to be proud of as the example of African jazz has shown. But, musics produced within a group were never cut off from other musics. Creation proceeded by creative appropriation and blending; whatever work it engendered was in essence mixed. Music created in these conditions, therefore, always carried a dual symbolic signification: it was construed as the music of one group and, indissolubly, as music in a universal sense. This had two consequences. Firstly, it ensured that music produced within one group could circulate, be appropriated by Others, enter into new creative combinations, contribute to configure other groups' identity and participate in the invention of wholly South African musics. Secondly, it maintained networks of cross-borrowing and cross-fertilisation that not only defeated attempts at separating and classifying human beings, but radically invalidated the ideological principles on which racism and apartheid were founded. It therefore comes as no surprise that music could serve as a weapon in the fight against racism and apartheid. It was mobilised in various forms of political action, explicitly (through lyrics, titles or comments by musicians) dedicated to the struggle, or symbolically denoting an opposition to the system because it openly displayed the creative capacities of people deemed inferior, whose music proved their belonging to universal humankind, or because it signified the rejection of the system by members of the allegedly superior group.

Notes

1. W.H. Stewart, MP for the United Party, during the parliamentary discussion of the Population Registration Act, 1950, quoted in: Vally 2001: 46. The particular case of Sandra Laing, as recounted in the film *Skin*, directed by Anthony Fabian (© 2008, Skin Films Limited and Moonlighting Skin Productions; released on DVD by ICA Films, London, in 2009 under the serial number ICA 028DVD), exposes the absurdity of such classification, the personal pains and social drama it caused.
2. Following historian Gérard Noiriel, "group" is taken here to mean a social entity which is the result of "[…] the subjective identification of the group's members to the spokespersons and the symbols that give the group its unity" and "category" to designate a human aggregate constituted by "[…] a bureaucratic effort of identity assignation which demands an 'objective' identification of individuals classified within abstract entities defined by law" (Noiriel 1997: 31, emphasis in the original; see also Brubaker et al. 2006).
3. Literally: a threepence coin; a type of dance derived from Cape Town square dancing; a style of music played on the guitar to accompany dancing (Coplan 2008: 443).
4. An up-tempo folk dance popular among Afrikaners and coloureds.
5. *Isicathamiya*, a type of vocal polyphony extremely popular among Zulu workers, in the Natal midlands as well as in the mining areas, probably originated from the encounter of American minstrelsy and Tin Pan Alley songs, as adapted by coloured and African musicians, missionary hymnody and Zulu rural songs (see: Ballantine 1993: 4–5; Erlmann 1991: 156-174; 1996).
6. That is the successive festivals starting on New Year's Eve and lasting for several weeks, during which Klopse, *Sangkore* (Malay Choirs) and Christmas Choirs held competitions within closed arenas (Martin 1999).
7. "Bob" parties were organised at the home of someone who needed to raise money for paying the rent or meeting other expenses. Music was provided by a piano, sometimes a band. Friends and neighbours had to pay a "bob" (ten cents) to enter and dance.
8. On the notion of respectability (*ordentlikheid*) in coloured communities, see: Salo 2004; 2005.
9. Literally "through each other", confused, disorganised; but also the intense pleasure of feeling free when participating in certain types of activities, especially at New Year; very often heard in songs because *deurmekaar* rhymes with *Nuwejaar*, just like bacchanal rhymes with carnival in Trinidad.
10. Interview with Basil Coetzee, recorded at his home, Rocklands, Cape Town, 24 August 1994.
11. "Coons and Afrikaans Culture, 'Ridiculous Suggestion'", *The Cape Standard*, Tuesday, 10 January 1939: 2.
12. On I.D. du Plessis, see: Jeppie 1987.
13. "There are regrettably at New Year too many songs from Tin Pan Alley and too few from Schotsche Kloof. The individual troupes, particularly the juveniles among them, love the slow crooning songs which Bing Crosby can put over so well but which the Cape Town Gentlemen Jazz Singers or the Young Dahomey Crooning Minstrels, try as they wish, simply turn into something like a melting chocolate mould at a kids' party. Fortunately, in recent years, largely through the influence of Dr I.D. du Plessis, both the Malay Choirs and the troupes of Coons have been paying more attention to the songs of the Cape. Thus they are giving the New Year Carnivals a more truly Cape flavour than they had before […]", "Cape's Unique New Year Carnival of Music", by George Aschman, *The Argus*, 29 December 1948. "[…] A feature of the coon song competitions at the Green Point Track yesterday were the

Afrikaans '*moppies*' or 'liedjies'. The troupes were congratulated by Dr I.D. Du Plessis, one of the judges, on bringing this innovation into their carnivals […]","Thousands See Coon Carnivals. '*Moppies*' a new Feature", *The Argus*, 4 January 1949.

14. See Gaulier 2007, 2010.
15. On *Kroncong*, see: Becker 1975; Kornhauser 1978; Heins 1975; Yampolsky 2010.
16. In that respect, *ghoemaliedjies* are similar to many repertoires of comic songs performed around the world, and especially to carnival songs such as Trinidadian calypsos.
17. A favourite is the "moffie", the transvestite homosexual; *moppies* make fun of them, as they would of any individual with extraordinary characteristics, but are not generally homophobic.
18. Combining heterogeneous elements has always been considered as a legitimate composition technique, especially in times and places when and where musical productions were not copyrighted; it has been used by European troubadours and contemporary experimental "art music" (the dodecaphonists and Karlheinz Stockhausen, for instance) and is systematically employed in contemporary rap and techno (Molino 2009: 186–189; Thomas 1998).
19. See: Desai 1983, 1985, 2005 and Gaulier 2009.
20. In spite of what some singers claim, *karienkel* never uses microtonal intervals (Gaulier 2009: 40).
21. Which Muslims do not consider to be "music".
22. A *gajjat* (also called a "*werk*") is a Muslim Sufi domestic ceremony during which a group of specialised singers is invited to chant and sing eulogies to the Prophet. It is performed on Thursday evenings, as a preparation for Friday prayers, and has a social as well as a religious function: in the days of District Six, it was also an occasion for the better-off to share food with the poor. It may be related to the *Ratib al-Haddad* performed in Malaysia, but differs from it because in Cape Town the participants sing in harmony. (I wish to thank Messrs Anwar Gambeno, Kader Firferey, Mrs Firoza Gambeno who made it possible for me to attend and record a *gajjat*, and Professor Shamil Jeppie for his enlightening comments on this ceremony.)
23. Which are obviously derived, as is the instrument itself, from American music.
24. Interview with two Malay Choir coaches, recorded on 10 January 1994.
25. Interview recorded on 1 February 1994.
26. "For the first time in Cape Town's history a combined coon and Malay carnival will be held tomorrow and Thursday at the Green Point Track. Mr A. Lotz, municipal manager of beach entertainments, is responsible for the organisation. On the first day local charities will benefit, on the second day 75 per cent of the gross takings will be handed over to the Governor General's War Fund […] All the regular and best troupes of coons will take part as usual he [Mr Lotz] said. Most of them have been previously associated with the Coronation Coloured Carnival Board […] Dr I.D. du Plessis, who has always taken a keen interest in the Malay Choirs, has been instrumental in arranging that the choirs will amalgamate with the coons at carnival […] Both he and Mr Lotz expected that this would be the first of a series of centralised carnivals […]", "Feature of Coons' Carnival, Malay Choirs To Sing At The Track", *The Cape Times*, 31 December 1940.
27. For instance, the words of "Exodus", the theme song of the 1961 film directed by Otto Preminger, were adapted by the Young Stars in the early 1960s, and were still sung by the Great Gatsbys in 1977. They alluded to forced removals and expressed a longing for freedom: "This land is mine / God gave this land to me […] / This brave […] and ancient land to me […] / And when the morning sun / Reveals the hills and plains / *Then I see a land* / *Where children can be free* […] / To make this land my home / If I must fight, I'll fight […] (reproduced from the sheet given to Great Gatsbys' singers, kindly lent by Gerald L. Stone; the verses underlined were handwritten and replaced the original words "With the help of God, I know I can be

strong", which were crossed out). In 1993–1994, before the elections, "Gimme Hope Jo'Anna" composed by Guyanese musician Eddy Grant and published as a 45 rpm with an explicitly anti-apartheid cover, was dubbed "the national anthem of Mitchell's Plain". In the *moppie* version presented by the Woodstock Starlites in 1994, they went: "[…] You don't have to be white to be right (twice) / I say I say / Johanna, Johanna, Johanna, Johanna / Well Johanna she runs a country / She runs in Durban and in whole Transvaal / She makes a few of her people happy / She doesn't care about the rest at all / Oh gimme hope Johanna […]".

28. The Atjas used to parade brandishing the Stars and Stripes banner alongside the South African flag.
29. Selecting a name for a troupe was one of the few occurrences when coloureds could freely choose a name; the United States have been a ubiquitous reference in the names of the Klopse; qualifiers used in the names after 1948 projected a positive image: fabulous, famous, original, or underlined the quality of singing in an American style. There is no mention of South Africa after 1964; District Six disappears after 1971, but new townships where the troupes have been relocated are included after 1964 (Martin 1999: 145–146; 2000a).
30. Interview recorded on 13 July 1997.
31. Interview with Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander, producers of the programme "Qasidahs Classix" on The Voice of the Cape, recorded on 30 October 2007 in Kensington.
32. The first were Shaykh Abdurahman Matahe Sha and Shaykh Mahmood of Sumatra, who reached the Cape in 1667.
33. Shaykh Yūsuf (1626–1699) arrived at the Cape in 1694, after having been detained in Batavia, then in Sri Lanka.
34. "Thus an emerging consensus suggests that Sufism has been present from virtually the beginning of Cape Islam and that it has strongly influenced the development of local practices and beliefs. It is probably best to claim no more than this; too little can be known with certainty and too much must be supposed […] Despite these limitations, Sufism's presence and importance has been firmly established" (Mason 1999: 5).
35. A farm located near the mouth of the Eerste River, in a place nowadays called Macassar, after Shaykh Yūsuf's place of origin.
36. Achmat Davids examines what the Qur'an and the jurisprudence of the Hadith say about music, and refers to Imam Gazzali (Hujjatu-l-Islam Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, 1056–1111), a Persian philosopher and theologian, who wrote, in his *Alchemy of Happiness*: "The heart of man has been so constituted by the Almighty that, like a flint, it contains a hidden fire which is evoked by music and harmony, and renders man beside himself with ecstasy. These harmonies are echoes of that higher world of beauty which we call the world of spirits; they remind man of his relationship to that world, and produce in him an emotion so deep and strange that he himself is powerless to explain it. The effect of music and dancing is deeper in proportion as the natures on which they act are simple and prone to motion; they fan into a flame whatever love is already dormant in the heart, whether it be earthly and sensual, or divine and spiritual" (http://www.amislam.com/alchemy.htm; accessed 15/03/2011).
37. See for instance the debate raised in *The Cape Argus* (30 October 2009) by a *fatwa* condemning the inclusion of the Fatiha (the opening chapter of the Qur'an) alongside the Lord's Prayer in "The Lords Du'a", on the CD *The Awakening* (Desert Rose).
38. Raji Divajee, during an interview with Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander recorded on 30 October 2007 in Kensington.
39. Angelo Gobbato, "Angelo Gobbato remembers the history of opera in Cape Town and the beginnings of Cape Town Opera", 6 June 2009, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).

40. The history of the Eoan Group has not yet been thoroughly explored. Information used in this paragraph comes from: Cleophas 2009; Faktor-Kreitzer 2005; Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010); "The EOAN Group", http://www.domus.ac.za/content/view/44/5/ (accessed 23/08/2010); and interviews with Ruth Goodwin and Joseph Gabriels. In 2009, the archives of the Eoan Group were handed over to the Documentation Centre for Music of the University of Stellenbosch; it is hoped that researchers will now take advantage of this donation to write a full history of the Group.
41. Quoted in: Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: the Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
42. Interview with Ruth Goodwin (who sang soprano with the Eoan Group in the late 1950s and early 1960s; see: http://pages.interlog.com/~saww/2006Ruth.html), recorded at the District Six Museum, on 4 October 1994.
43. The city organist, president of the Cape Organ Guild in 1949–1950.
44. Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010). A live recording of the 1960 production of *Rigoletto*, starring Sophia Andrews, Ruth Goodwin, Lionel Fourie and Joseph Gabriels, with the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra under the direction of Joseph Manca, has been reissued on CD in 2000: *Verdi's Rigoletto (abridged), The Eoan Group*, Claremont (Cape Town), G.S.E. Claremont Records (CD GSE 1567).
45. Stanley Glasser is a South African born composer who participated in the production of Todd Matshikiza's musical *King Kong*; he also wrote *Mr Paljas*, a musical whose action is located in a village of the Western Cape coast (see note 16, p. 253). Stanley Glasser left South Africa in 1963 with singer Maud Damons after a Cape Town tribunal issued warrants for their arrest. Glasser (white) and Damons (coloured) were charged for infringing the Immorality Act. The accused couple fled into the then British protectorate of Bechuanaland (now Botswana), and from there went to Dar es Salaam (then Tanganyika, now Tanzania). He later taught at Goldsmiths College, University of London.
46. The theatre critic Brent Meersman wrote, for instance, in the *Mail & Guardian* of 13 December 2005: "The poor old Joseph Stone Theatre. Every time I enter its safe parking – a gravelly, uneven and potholed surface surrounded by chicken wire – and step into its dilapidated foyer, I am overcome by two emotions – sadness and anger. It is a building crying out for care. In a country desperately short of performance facilities – criminally short of them in areas outside of the city centres – how can it be allowed to sit and rot? Run by the Eoan Group the Joseph Stone has some workshops and cultural activities and only on a handful of days in the year performances" (http://realreview.co.za/2005/12/13/cavalleria-rusticana-gianni-schicchi-joseph-stone/; accessed 26/08/2010).
47. http://saoperasingers.homestead.com/Joseph_Gabriels_Bio.html (accessed 25/08/2010).
48. In addition to Joseph Gabriels, other Eoan Group members or associates who decided to leave South Africa include: the sopranos Patricia van Graan and Abeeda Parker, the baritone Charles de Long, the dancer Didi Sydow, and the conductor, pianist and *répétiteur* Gordon Jephtas, who later enjoyed an illustrious career in Europe and America. Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
49. Cape Performing Arts Board, it was funded by the government and given the mission to produce drama, opera and ballet; it operated "solely for the benefit of white performers and white audiences". Angelo Gobbato, "Angelo Gobbato remembers the history of opera in Cape

Town and the beginnings of Cape Town Opera", 6 June 2009, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).

50. Interview with Joseph Gabriels, recorded at the Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, on 18 October 1994.
51. François Johannes Cleophas considers that: "The beliefs of Helen Southern-Holt happened to be underpinned by personal ambition and she behaved passively towards the government's racist policies" (Cleophas 2009: 220).
52. Cape Performing Arts Board, it was funded by the government and given the mission to produce drama, opera and ballet; it operated "solely for the benefit of white performers and white audiences". Angelo Gobbato, "Angelo Gobbato remembers the history of opera in Cape Town and the beginnings of Cape Town Opera", 6 June 2009, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
53. Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
54. A famous novelist born in District Six, and president of the South African Coloured People's Organisation.
55. Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile:The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
56. *The Torch* was a bimonthly magazine published by the Non-European Unity Movement; it exposed energetically what the editors considered instances of collaboration with the government and its Coloured Affairs Department.
57. Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
58. Hilde Roos, "Hilde Roos on Opera in Exile: The Eoan Group", 14 February 2010, http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/ (accessed 23/08/2010).
59. R.E. van der Ross, "Origins of the Coons: Anyone can join", *The Cape Times*, January 8, 1959.
60. Interview with Joseph Gabriels, recorded at the Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, on 18 October 18 1994.
61. Quoted in: Bickford-Smith, Van Heynigen & Worden 1998: 89.
62. "Fingoes" or Mfengu (AmaFengu in isiXhosa, i.e. "wanderers") were people originally related to the Zulus, who were displaced by Shaka and its armies during the Mfecane; they were allowed to settle on the banks of the Great Fish River and became allies of the colonists in the frontier wars.
63. NoNgqawuse was a Xhosa teenager who in 1856 claimed to have received a message from ancestors' spirits saying that they would throw the settlers into the sea on the condition that the Xhosas kill all their cattle and destroy their crops. Paramount chief Sarhili agreed and ordered that the prophecy be obeyed. It is believed that between 300 000 and 400 000 animals were slaughtered.
64. See Table 5 in Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 119–121, compiled from David Dewar, Vanessa Watson, Ana Bassios & Neil Dewar, *The Structure and Form of Metropolitan Cape Town: Its Origins, Influences, and Performance*, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, Urban Problems Research Unit, 1990 (Working Paper 42).
65. Nyanga means moon in isiXhosa, and the name was chosen to complement Langa (sun), disregarding the other meaning of Langa: kwaLanga, i.e. Langa's place, where chief Langalibalele, who resisted the colonial authorities in Natal in 1873–1875, was kept under house arrest (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 108–109).
66. Between 1968 and 1974, for instance, the number of African migrant workers in Cape Town increased by 56,3 per cent (Houssay-Holzschuch 1999: 137).

67. Although not a Capetonian, John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921) is a good example of the type of intellectual that the Mfengus produced. He was the founder and editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, a newspaper published in isiXhosa and English, established in 1884 in King William's Town to voice the views and aspirations of black people. Jabavu's views on the South African War irritated the government. As a consequence, his paper was banned in 1901.
68. Percival R. Kirby, "African Music South of the Zambezi", in: Klaus P. Wachsman ed., *Essays on Music and History in Africa*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1971: 248; quoted in: Detterbeck 2002: 124.
69. Tonic sol-fa is a technique for writing music and teaching to sing in which staff notation is replaced by solfège syllables and punctuation marks. It was invented by Sarah Ann Glover (1785–1867) of Norwich, England, and introduced in South Africa in 1855 by Christopher Birkett, who taught music at black mission schools and white music societies in the Eastern Cape. Tonic sol-fa is still widely used by South African choirs.
70. Ntsikana (1780–1820) was a Ngqika Xhosa chief who, after hearing the preaching of English missionaries between 1799 and 1816, had a vision, started to hum a tune that was to become his "Great Hymn", and held prayer services. He is considered to be the first "Bantu prophet", although he did not join the mission station close to the place where he lived, and simply kept contact with the successive missionaries who were posted there. He did not break with traditional Xhosa religion, but reorganised it within a Christian framework. He composed four hymns among which his "Great Hymn" became very popular. Its words were transcribed in 1822, but the melody was orally transmitted until it was notated in tonic sol-fa by John Knox Bokwe and published at Lovedale in 1876 (see: Bokwe 2005; Coplan 2008: 45–49; Dargie 2005).
71. See the transcription proposed by David K. Rycroft reproduced in Coplan 2008: 437.
72. According to Cape Town pianist Idris Hotep Galeta (1941–2010): "It was during the late 20's that Boet Gashe an itinerant organist from Queenstown popularised the three chord system the forerunner to the *Marabi* and *Mbaqanga* styles that were later to be perfected in the township *shebeen* environments of Johannesburg and Marabastad situated on the outskirts of Pretoria." Idris Hotep Galeta, "The Roots of Jazz in South Africa" (posted: 24 July 2005), http://www.whatchusay.com/archives/2005/07/the_roots_of_ja.html; accessed 14/01/2011.
73. Todd Matshikiza, "Jazz comes to Joburg", *Drum*, August 1957, quoted in Koch 1983: 160.
74. A blend of Xhosa melodies and American ragtime songs performed in *shebeens* (see: Coplan 2008: 117).
75. Philip Bonner, Lauren Segal, *Soweto: A History*, Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1998: 14; quoted in Ansell 2004: 32.
76. See the picture in the portfolio included between pages 52 and 53 in Ballantine 1993.
77. See, for instance, the enthusiasm displayed by Peter Rezant, the leader of one of the most sophisticated jazz and dance bands of the 1930s and 1940s, the Merry Blackbirds, when evoking his memories of films featuring Glenn Miller and his band (Ballantine 1993: 21).
78. *Tsaba-tsaba* was a rhythm popular in the 1940s, in which *vastrap* and Sotho *focho* were combined with North and South American traits (Coplan 2008: 183–184; 444).
79. Interview recorded at Basil Coetzee's home, Rocklands, Cape Town, on 24 August 1994.
80. See chapter 4.
81. http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2001census/Pages/Demographics.aspx (accessed 22/09/2010).
82. Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph, "Pride, prejudice and power: Being a woman composer in South

Africa", *IAWM* [International Alliance for Women in Music] *Journal*, 2004, reproduced at: http://www.iawm.org/articles_html/zaidel-rudolph_south_africa.html (accessed 4/12/2010).

83. Alex van Heerden, "What is *vastrap*? Workshop with the *Ghoema* Captains of Cape Town", The Bird's Eye Jazz Club, Basel, 8 April 2006, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MYxH9NjFQVI&feature=player_embedded#! (accessed 21/09/2010).
84. Alex van Heerden, "What is *vastrap*? Workshop with the Ghoema Captains of Cape Town", The Bird's Eye Jazz Club, Basel, 8 April 2006, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MYxH9NjFQVI&feature=player_embedded#! (accessed 21/09/2010).
85. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Donald R. Hill, Professor of Anthropology and Chair of Africana/Latino Studies at State University of New York College at Oneonta, who very generously shared with me his collection of old *boeremusiek* recordings.
86. Japie Laubscher, *Die Kaapse Legende Leef Voort*, Decibel Musiek © 1997.
87. Baardskeerdersbos Orkes, *Gooi Los!*, BMG CDBSP (WP) 6037 © BMG Records Africa 1997.
88. A few David de Lange songs have been re-recorded by the "progressive" *boeremusiek* group Die Radio Kalahari Orkes: *Die Nagloper, Die Musiek van David de Lange*, Terraplane/Sony TERRACD01 © 2007. See: http://www.kalahari.net/music/Die-Nagloper/19996/32430520.aspx (accessed 22/09/2010).
89. Quoted in Glynis O'Hara, "From Zambezi to Somma *Ghoema*", *Mail & Guardian* 20 December 1996: 33.
90. Nebula Bos Records © 2000.
91. The national identity, the national ethos, the nation's or people's own, that which is particular to the Afrikaner (Laubscher 2005: 311).
92. "Radio Bantu promoted white hegemony, traditional culture, and homelands and black ethnicity, and was underpinned by the technical limitations of FM broadcasting which favoured regional reception and the targeting of apartheid's ethnic groups. Programmes tended to be pre-recorded and carefully vetted" (Merrett 1995: 71).
93. Interview with Bles Bridges, translated by Gary Herselman, reproduced in: *Voëlvry, The Movie*, Cape Town, Shifty, 2006, directed by Lloyd Ross (DVD, 70 minutes), included in Hopkins 2006.
94. On the history of South African pop music, and more particularly on its protest side, see: Andersson 1981.
95. As indicated by Ingrid Byerly, "[t]he achievements of this group of individuals in legalising multiracial performance in South Africa are, regrettably, mostly undocumented and unknown" (Byerly 1998: 40).
96. Who, in 1977, succeeded his father Hugh as Director of the International Library of African Music in Grahamstown.
97. Jeremy Taylor authored caustic songs that made fun of the South African suburban way of life; he enacted them with counterfeited accents and underlined his texts by making funny faces; his "The Ballad of the Southern Suburbs" (1961) was banned by the SABC because it included slang and mixed Afrikaans and English, and "Northern Side of Town" (1962) was banned as "insulting to the Afrikaner" (Baines 2008: 104).
98. In the 1970s, they produced a southern African version of the Broadway musical *Godspell*, by Stephen Schwartz and John Michael Tebelak. It was the first racially mixed professional production to be staged publicly in South Africa; after opening in Lesotho, it was banned in South Africa allegedly for "blasphemy", in reality because the cast was mixed. Eventually a Supreme Court ruling overturned the banning.
99. Shifty Records, 1986 (SHIFT10).
100. The critic John Samson writes of Roger Lucey's 1979 LP *The Road is Much Longer*, which

prompted an intervention by the Security Police: "The music is angry, the singer is angry and the lyrics are angry. But it's not a ranting anger, it's controlled and channelled into making a fine politically charged folk rock album. There is no letting up, no detours to explore the virtues of romantic love or the social significance of trains that go to obscure dorps in the Karoo. It would not have sat comfortably on most turntables in white suburbia when it was released and may still feel a bit squeamish in a number of CD players" (http://www.rock.co.za/files/roger_lucey_the_road.htm; accessed 30/11/2010).

101. See the testimony of the Security Police's former agent Paul Erasmus at: http://www.3rdearmusic.com/forum/footsoldier.html (accessed 7/12/2010). On Roger Lucey, see: Andersson 1981: 143–146; Drewett 2003: 86–87; http://www.rogerlucey.co.za (accessed 30/11/2010).
102. Gérard "Gé" Korsten (1927–1999) was a Dutch-born South African opera tenor who became extremely popular as a pop singer; he never contested apartheid and participated in concerts for soldiers sent to the "border" (Andersson 1981: 92; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A9_Korsten; accessed 7/12/2010).
103. Min Shaw (1936–) was a star of Afrikaans light music who gained great popularity in the 1960s and 1970s; she also acted in feature films and sang duets with Gé Korsten; she later turned to gospel (http://af.wikipedia.org/wiki/Min_Shaw; accessed 7/12/2010).
104. See: Gavin Evans (ECC Johannesburg Publicity Secretary), "Calling up old memories", *Mail & Guardian*, 23 October 2009: 23; Jonathan Ancer, "Thorn In the side of apartheid's bosses", *The Star*, 28 October 2009: 15.
105. Laurie Nathan (National Organiser of the ECC in the mid-1980s), "The enemy inside the laager", *Mail & Guardian*, 30 October 2009: 23.
106. The *Sestigers* was a name given to a group of Afrikaans 1960s writers (André Brink, Breyten Breytenbach, Etienne Leroux, Jan Rabie, Ingrid Jonker, Adam Small, Bartho Smit, Chris Barnard, Hennie Aucamp, Dolf van Niekerk, Abraham H. de Vries and Elsa Joubert); *Tagtiger* (of the 1980s) was the title of a literary magazine launched by André Letoit/Koos Kombuis, suggesting both a filiation with the *Sestigers*, and the ambition to go further than them.
107. Literally "Jacob Kitchen", a transparent allusion to *kombuis taal*, the language of the kitchen, born of exchanges between masters and slaves, which was to develop into Afrikaans (Laubscher 2005: 314).
108. See: http://kalahari-surfers.mondomix.com/en/itw5561.htm and http://www.furious.com/perfect/kalaharisurfers.html (accessed 29/04/2010).
109. Literally: "Free as a Bird" or "Outlaw". But the semantic field of *Voëlvry* was actually much broader; according to Leswin Laubscher: "As identitary semiotic […] *voëlvry* simultaneously communicates a desire for freedom (*to be* free as a bird), a demand for freedom, as well as a statement of attainment (to be free is to *perform* freedom). But there is another sense with which to be free. In a demotic understanding, *voël* denotes the penis, while *vry* means to 'make out', the combination contesting and satirising a received puritan morality as it celebrates sexually liberatory possibilities" (Laubscher 2005: 314). On the history and political signification of the *Voëlvry* movement, see: Grundlingh 2004; Hopkins 2006; Jury 1996; Kombuis 2009; Laubscher 2005.
110. Bernold Nobody.
111. Jacob Kitchen.
112. John Churchorgan.
113. Johannes Kerkorrel, interview reproduced in *Voëlvry: The Movie*, Cape Town, Shifty, 2006, directed by Lloyd Ross, translation by Gary Herselman (DVD, 70 minutes), included in Hopkins 2006.

114. Literally: *Summer II: A pasted up book*; *plak* may also refer to *plakkies*, an army term for any kind of sandals (Branford & Branford 1991: 245).
115. Ian Barnard suggests a very critical reading of *Somer II*, underlining its ambiguities and questioning the possibility to transform Afrikaans into a "medium for subversion" (Barnard 1992).
116. An irreverent allusion to the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church).
117. "Black peril", a phrase often used by white Nationalist politicians.
118. Footage of students demonstrations and Prof. Lubbe's speech are reproduced in: *Voëlvry: The Movie*, Cape Town, Shifty, 2006, directed by Lloyd Ross, translation by Gary Herselman (DVD, 70 minutes), included in Hopkins 2006.
119. Recordings made during the *Voëlvry* tour were reissued on CD in 2002 by Sheer Sound: *Voëlvry: Die Toer*, Johannesburg, Sheer Sound, 2002 (SHIF 002).
120. The amazement and delight the audience expressed when Koos Kombuis shouted *poes* (cunt, pussy) on stage after breaking a string is very eloquent in this regard; *Voëlvry: The Movie*, Cape Town, Shifty, 2006, directed by Lloyd Ross, translation by Gary Herselman (DVD, 70 minutes), included in Hopkins 2006.
121. In Koos Kombuis' "*Vakansie in Lusaka*" (Hopkins 2006: 75).
122. A notable exception was trombonist and drummer Jannie "Hanepoot" van Tonder, who played with the African Jazz Pioneers and the mixed band Winston's Jive Mix Up.
123. Johnny Clegg used his informal training in Zulu performative arts, and his participation in dance contests and in concerts for migrant workers as a kind of "field work" which provided the source material for several publications. See: Clegg 1980, 1981, 1982–1983.
124. A muslim first name, and the name of the Indian heroine in Scott O'Dell's novel, *Zia* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1976).
125. In isiZulu, *woza moya* means "come/arise spirit", with a play on *moya*, which means air and wind but also spirit and soul; it evokes Juluka's "*Woza Moya*" (*Work for All*, 1983) in which they called for the advent of the "Spirit of a new African day".
126. On 3 Februray 1960, British Prime Minister Harold McMillan delivered in the South African Parliament, Cape Town, a famous speech, which was to remain known as the "The Wind of Change speech", in which he declared: "The wind of change is blowing through this continent. Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact […] As a fellow member of the Commonwealth it is our earnest desire to give South Africa our support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our own deep convictions about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect." See: Myers 2000.
127. "Waiting for the Winds (*Woza Woza*)", *Zulu Hits*, Celluloid (France)/Gallo (South Africa), 1988, (VHS-SECAM 66847-8), 43'.
128. On David Kramer, see: De Villers & Slabbert 2011.
129. *Klutaimnestra* (Clytemnestra), an opera in four acts, which was premiered at Boesenbach Hall, Worcester, 7 November 1967.
130. His "I Had a Dream" (*Bakgat*, 1980), in which he dreams he has been "reclassified non-white" sounds like a reminiscence of Big Bill Broonzy's "It was Just a Dream" (1938).
131. "*Bobbejaan Bobbejaan*" also evokes "*Bobbejaan Klim die Berg*" (The baboon climbs the mountain), an old *moppie* attributed to members of the District Six Rosslyn Club, but also claimed by Afrikaners. David Kramer will later acknowledge that it was this song that started him thinking about the roots of Afrikaans folk music (*Ghoema*, programme notes, 2005–2006).

132. Taliep Peterson (1950–2006) was a singer and composer born in District Six. He began to sing with *Klopse* and *Sangkore* at a very young age. All his life, even after becoming famous, he continued to work as a coach or soloist with troupes and choirs. He transposed his intimate knowledge of the music of carnival troupes and choirs, as well of their sense of humour and sentimentality, in astutely crafted songs and plots for musicals.
133. F*airyland*, 1990; *Crooners*, 1992; *Poison*, 1994; *Kat and the Kings*, 1995; *Klop Klop*, 1996; *Ghoema*, 2005.
134. Interview with David Kramer, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aeir1TOBxKw (accessed 13/12/2010).
135. Citation for the late Taliep Petersen Hon. Graduation, UCT, 14 December 2007, http://www.uct.ac.za/downloads/uct.ac.za/about/honours/degrees/talieppetersen_citation.doc (accessed 13/12/2010).
136. On Bright Blue, see: http://www.rock.co.za/brightblue/history.html and http://www.weeping.info/Bright-Blue.html (accessed 29/04/2010).
137. http://www.weeping.info/Weeping-lyrics.html (accessed 29/04/2010).
138. See pp. 160–171 'Art' Music.
139. Percival R. Kirby (1887–1970) was born in Scotland; he emigrated to South Africa and worked as Music Organiser at the Natal Education Department from 1914. In 1921, became the first Professor of Music at the University of the Witwatersrand; in the 1930s, he went on field trips in the course of which he constituted a remarkable collection of African musical instruments which is now housed in the University of Cape Town College of Music under the curatorship of Michael Nixon. Percival R. Kirby is the author of the pioneering work on South African indigenous music: *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1934). He composed several pieces inspired by African songs.
140. Theo Wendt (1874–1951) was born in London. He left England in 1896, went to South Africa and taught music and piano in Grahamstown. He became quite renowned as a recitalist and contributed to Cape Town's musical life by organising "Thursday Evening Concerts". In 1924, he was appointed Musical Director and Studio Manager of South Africa's first broadcasting station in Johannesburg. In 1926, he settled in the USA, but returned to South Africa in 1938. The SABC appointed him their official orchestrator and arranger in 1944 and he returned occasionally to Cape Town as a guest conductor of the Symphony Orchestra he had contributed to establishing in 1914. He transcribed his *The Four South African Folk Tunes* for orchestra in 1947, a suite in which he used colourful orchestration effects reminiscent of Alexander Borodin or Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov (http://ancestry24.com/theophil-otto-frederick-charles-wendt-theo/; http://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp?item_code=8.223709&catNum=223709&filetype=About+this+Recording&language=English; accessed 14/12/2010).
141. William Henry Bell (1873–1946) was born in England. He emigrated to South Africa in 1912 and became the Principal of the South African College of Music in Cape Town. When the College of Music was incorporated into the University in 1923, W.H. Bell was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Music. He taught, among others, Hubert du Plessis and Stefans Grové. Among his many compositions, are included a *Danse du tambour* [Drum Dance] (1909), and his Symphony No.4, *A South African Symphony* (1927), supposedly based on African material provided by Percival Kirby, about which one of W.H. Bell's students, John Joubert, wrote: "It is in a mixture of idioms: sometime relaxedly Holstian (mid-early period), raucously Baxian (Rosc-Catha and Cortege – listen to the opening of the finale) and even Scandinavian (Alfven perhaps) […] Despite the notes above I could not detect anything

I recognised as a trace of South African local colour (this may well be due to my lack of knowledge of what constitutes South African tunes)." A careful listener cannot but concur with John Joubert in failing to notice anything musically "African" in W.H. Bell's symphony (http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/july99/bell2.htm; accessed 14/12/2010; see also: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Henry_Bell (accessed: 14/12/2010).

142. Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa (1908–1982) grew up in rural Lesotho and was educated at Fort Hare University. He began to conduct choirs and to compose at a very young age and later studied under Percival Kirby at the University of the Witwatersrand. His first collection of compositions, written in tonic sol-fa, was published in 1935 and included the famous "*U Ea Kae?*" (Where are you going?) (Coplan 2008: 141–143, 427–428; Lucia 2007 166–170; Mngoma 2005: 99–103).

143. Michael Mosoeu Moerane (1909–1981) was born in Lesotho. He studied at Lovedale, Fort Hare and took correspondence courses in music at UNISA. He was the first black South African to be awarded a BMus. In 1941, he composed the symphonic poem *Fatse la Hesô* (My country), as part of the requirements for his degree. *Fatse la Hesô* recycles several African songs on an harmonic structure derived from a hymn. Poet and musician Phil du Plessis describes it as "[…] a dignified and patriotic tone poem, possibly striving for the same effect as Sibelius' *Finlandia*. [Its] music undulates as as lullaby, or becomes a chorale penetrating western musical expression" (liner notes to the CD *Timbila: Orchestral Works Inspired by Elements in African Music*, Cape Town, Claremont GSE, 1991, which includes an interpretation of *Fatse La Hesô* by the National Symphony Orchestra conducted by Edgar Cree). On Moerane, see: Lucia 2007: 173–175; http://chevalierdesaintgeorges.homestead.com/moerane.html (accessed 15/12/2010).

144. Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph, "Pride, prejudice and power: Being a woman composer in South Africa", *IAWM* [International Alliance for Women in Music] *Journal*, 2004, reproduced at: http://www.iawm.org/articles_html/zaidel-rudolph_south_africa.html; accessed 4/12/2010.

145. Lourens Faul: *Multiracial Choral Cycle*; Stefans Grové: *Songs and Dances from Africa*; Paul Loeb van Zuilenberg: *Twelve Marches on Indigenous Themes*; Henk Temmingh: *Imisa Labafileyo*: *A Zulu Requiem* (Rosenschoon 1992: 14).

146. Graham Fitch, *"South African Piano Music: An Overview",* Keynote Address, 6th Australasian Piano Pedagogy Conference, Melbourne, Australia, July 2003, http://www.grahamfitch.com/articles.htm (accessed 14/12/2010).

147. Kevin Volans, "White Man Sleeps: Composer's Statement", http://www.kevinvolans.com/index.php?id=18 (accessed 25/11/2010).

148. Ali Rahbari (1948–) is an Iranian composer and conductor; *Half Moon* was commissioned by the National Youth Orchestra in 1984 and performed by the NYO with choirs from Soweto and Sebokeng.

149. Kevin Volans, "Of white Africans and white elephants", published in *Leadership*, 18 February 1986 under the title "A New Note"; reproduced at: http://www.kevinvolans.com/index.php?id=17 (accessed 25/11/2010).

150. See note 45 p. 176.

151. One of the hymns composed by Isaiah Shembe, who founded the Nazarite Church at the end of the 19th century, also carries the title "*Lalela Zulu*", but it does not seem that Stanley Glasser used in his own vocal suite material from this hymn, or any other of the Nazarite hymns recorded by Hugh Tracey (Muller S. 2005: 285; Coplan & Jules-Rosette 2008: 193–194). *Lalela Zulu* was also the title Hugh Tracey gave to a collection of Zulu songs he published, with illustrations by Eric Byrd: *Lalela Zulu: 100 Zulu Lyrics*, Johannesburg, African Music Society, 1948.

152. On Stefans Grové, see: Muller & Walton 2006.
153. "I believe that being a female composer in South Africa is uniquely different from being a woman composer anywhere else in the world. The previously 'privileged' white minority in a country practising the racial discrimination of the 'apartheid' system reflected a chauvinist attitude that overtly patronised other minority groups of various kinds, especially women and their artistic expressions." Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph, "Pride, prejudice and power: Being a woman composer in South Africa", *IAWM* (International Alliance for Women in Music) *Journal*, 2004, http://www.iawm.org/articles_html/zaidel-rudolph_south_africa.html (accessed 14/12/2010).
154. Quoted in: Graham Fitch, "*South African Piano Music: An Overview*", Keynote Address, 6th Australasian Piano Pedagogy Conference, Melbourne, Australia, July 2003, http://www.grahamfitch.com/articles.htm; accessed 14/12/2010.
155. Kevin Volans, liner notes of the CD: Kronos Quartet: *Pieces of Africa*, New York, Elektra Nonesuch, 1992 (7559-79275-2).
156. Kevin Volans, "White Man Sleeps: Composer's Statement", http://www.kevinvolans.com/index.php?id=18 (accessed 25/11/2010).
157. Gideon Fagan (1904–1980) was born in Somerset West. He studied at the South African College of Music, Cape Town, and the Royal College of Music, London. He stayed in Great Britain from 1922 to 1949; upon his return to South Africa, he worked at the SABC, as Manager of the Music Department and became SABC's Head of Music in 1964.
158. And, as already mentioned, put the first phrase of "*Die Stem*" in close connection with the first phrase of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*" in the second part (conclusion) of *Suid-Afrika – Nag en Daeraad* (South Africa, Night and Daybreak, 1966) (Levy 1986: 6).
159. Liner notes: Hubert du Plessis, *Slamse Beelde, Simfonie*, Cape Town, Claremont GSE, 1995 (CD GSE 1538).
160. Peter Klatzow was born in Springs, Transvaal, in 1945; he studied in England, Italy and France (with Nadia Boulanger); he returned to South Africa in 1966, worked at the SABC, and began teaching at the University of Cape Town in 1973 where he was appointed Director of the South African College of Music in 2007.
161. Trevor Huddleston (1913–1998) was an English Anglican priest who was sent to the Sophiatown (Johannesburg) Anglican mission in 1943. He fought relentlessly against the implementation of apartheid and in particular against the forced removal of Sophiatown's black inhabitants. As part of his social activities, he founded a jazz band in which musicians such as Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa played. Persecuted by the police, Trevor Huddleston was recalled to England in 1956, when Sophiatown was in the process of being torn down. One of his favourite prayers was: "God bless Africa, Guard her people, Guide her leaders, And give her peace."
162. http://www.roosenschoon.co.za/roosenschoon_files/pnotes/makietie.html (accessed 18/12/2010).
163. *Mantis and Other African Inspired Works* is the title of a CD including several compositions by Hans Roosenschoon, *Circle of Light*, *Mantis*, *Makietie*, *Timbila*, among others (Cape Town, Claremont GSE, 1990, CD GSE 1510).
164. http://www.roosenschoon.co.za/roosenschoon_files/pnotes/timbila.html (accessed 18/12/2010).
165. *Timbila*, was first performed in Grahamstown on 12 and 13 July 1985 by the National Symphony Orchestra of the SABC, conducted by Christian Tiemeyer, and the Chopi xylophone orchestra from the Wildebeestfontein North Mine, led by Venancio Mbande. It can be heard on *Mantis and Other African Inspired Works*, Cape Town, Claremont GSE,

1990 (CD GSE 1510) and *Timbila: Orchestral Works Inspired by Elements in African Music*, Claremont GSE, 1991 (CD GSE 1513).

166. A style characterised by the assemblage of sound blocks, contrasts of duration, intensity and textures, and combination of multi-phonic movements, sometimes echoing the principle of staggered entry in Nguni polyphony.

167. http://www.roosenschoon.co.za/roosenschoon_files/pnotes/circlelight.html. (accessed 18/12/2010).

168. http://www.roosenschoon.co.za/roosenschoon_files/pnotes/mantis.html; accessed 18/12/2010. Both *Circle of Light* and *Mantis* can be heard on *Mantis and Other African Inspired Works*, Cape Town, Claremont GSE, 1990 (CD GSE 1510).

FIRST INTERLUDE

Vincent Kolbe's Childhood Memories

Vincent Kolbe remembering the songs he heard when growing up in District Six.

Vincent Kolbe was born in District Six on 19 July 1933. He was a librarian, an activist and a musician. As a librarian, he encouraged young people to read, and gave them access to material that could help them develop a critical mind. He worked at the Bonteheuwel and Kensington libraries where, during the last two decades of apartheid, and in spite of police surveillance and recurrent harassment, he hosted political debates and ideological discussion, transforming public libraries into "marketplaces for ideas" and "cultural centres" (Dick 2007: 709). He had to retire in 1991, due to poor health resulting from the tear gassing he had suffered during the struggle. As a musician, he played in dance bands and jazz bands and was one of the early exponents of be-bop in Cape Town, with Harold Jephta and Johnny Gertze. He participated in the creation of MAPP (Music Action for People's Power) in the 1980s, was involved in the foundation of the community station Bush Radio, and was a trustee of the District Six Museum. Vincent Kolbe obtained diplomas in librarianship but was an entirely self-taught musician. He was awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree by the University of Cape Town in 2002. Vincent Kolbe was a walking encyclopaedia on Cape Town, District Six and the music of Cape Town. He was not inclined to writing, but was gifted with an inexhaustible memory and was a great raconteur. He was one of the first people I was directed to in 1992 when I started doing research on Cape Town's New Year festivals and on music in the Mother City. We became very good friends, and I had the pleasure of welcoming him to my home in France in 1996 when he was invited to give a day-long seminar on "Identities in Cape Town" at the African Studies Centre of Sciences Po Bordeaux (the

Bordeaux Institute of Political Studies). As soon as I started working on the research project which developed into the present volume, I knew that I would have to draw on Vincent Kolbe's memory. We agreed that the best solution was for me to videotape an interview with him focusing on the musics he heard during his childhood. For about three hours, he talked about the musics he was exposed to in Cape Town from the 1940s to the 1960s; sitting at his piano he frequently illustrated his talk by playing the tunes and demonstrating the styles that made a particular impact on him. The following interlude is a slightly edited transcription of the interview I videotaped at his home, in Southfield, Cape Town, on 31 October 2007. It should be read as a complement to the extensive interview he gave Lars Rasmussen (Rasmussen 2003: 102–114) and to the quotations included in Michael Nixon's paper on "The world of jazz in inner Cape Town, 1940 to 1960" (Nixon 1997)[1]. Vincent Kolbe sadly passed away on 3 September 2010 after several years of courageously fighting cancer. I hope the following pages can do justice to his limitless knowledge of music history, his warmth and generosity, the humanity that made him a true Capetonian citizen of the world. His testimony gives an idea of the range of music that could be heard, live or recorded, in District Six homes during the 1940s and 1950s, as well as the interactions that actually took place between musicians classified in different racial categories.

Quadrilles

They don't play these quadrilles anymore, but the one I'm gonna play you is called "The Second Set", that is the minor quadrille where all the tunes are in the minor … I remember some of those tunes because when I was a youngster, the bands were mixing up the whole thing, were making up their own combinations [plays on the piano]. They would end on a minor chord, that's when I realised … that's why a lot of the components of some of the square dancing were in a minor chord, because once upon a time there was a whole quadrille written in the minor key. It must have been quite interesting in those years to have a square dance in the minor key. It must have been a very formal occasion, with bow ties, which would have taken the rough edges off … I don't know … But I was fascinated by the fact that the whole thing was written in a minor key. Then the band leader said, "This is the third part of the second set", which is another set of the square dancing. I've got all that in writing in my files. He used to call "arm in arm", "two in the centre" … I don't know to what extent it's been documented but the square dancing was BIG in my mother's time and in my granny's time … So what fascinated me with this piece is that it was written in D, played on the violin, and it changed keys …

"Tafelberg Samba", the "Weasel" and "Mannenberg"

The military bands, my grandmother used to call them the red coats [sings a military march] … And in the parks, in the casinos, the brass bands used to play this, and I think when they had balls in the offices … and of course the working class would grab all this and have their own version of it, like jazz in New Orleans, or *langarm* after ballroom. So they used to play it quite firmly [plays]. This was played before my time, in my granny's time or maybe my mother's time, but I'll never forget this tune … You know, you learn a lot of things … I learned to change the key and get the rhythm right … And later on, the brass bands must have played it like this … I still like it, there is something in it that I like [plays]. It's cute. I still love that tune until this very day, because of the arrangement, and the change of keys gives the whole thing a lift … It was the nice part of this particular tune and it was kind of a significant moment in my life when I started to understand that there is more to this, it's probably when I started looking at the world differently. But there are lots of examples of the square dancing, from the days when they played it on the violin, and then a lot of our boys went into the army … and they would learn to play the saxophone and after the war, they would play these things on the saxophone, but they still played it in the violin keys. Now an E flat saxophone played it in D because the banjo player, the bass player … they couldn't play the flats. And I realised how clever these old boys were, it was like playing in a key that is not suited for your instrument, and they even taught each other that way. So, there was a composition that Abdullah Ibrahim's band played later … it was the first hit of importance at the time of the 78 rpm in places like District Six … This guy called it the "Tafelberg Samba", and it was so popular, and I think that's got to do with the way it goes off beat or the way it jerks … [plays the original version, then Abdullah Ibrahim/Dollar Brand's arrangement]. This was more or less the original tempo and people played it and played the records in every home and danced to it … I learned from 78s, my mother, my grandmother played these records, with bands or Bing Crosby, everybody bought those records. Now this local production just caught fire and all the banjo players used to play it. I don't know what happened to the royalties, ownership and things like that … But I think it is a jaunty construction of the tune. The *vastrap* tunes weren't done with this intricacy, it was more straight, like the violin figures, and they would play the violin patterns on the saxophone [plays], it was very straight, you could count the quarter notes and the half notes … That was quite tricky. Now the second part gets smoother [plays]. And people used to enjoy whistling it, it was like a challenge to articulate that. I think that must have been … it's like be-bop you know …

That was that recording, but the reverse side of that recording is the part that fascinates me and I remember it vividly. It was an old square dance piece of music going back to the days of the fiddle, when the guys would take a nursery rhyme and extemporise on it. Which must have been an old fiddle tradition all over the world. When I first heard it, I only heard the improvisation, I had no idea of what it was based on [plays]. It sounds like a very straightforward … like a square dancing piece, but actually it's based on "The Cat's Got the Weasel"[2] [plays the original tune then plays it in a syncopated way]. Is that clever? That's why I say that's Cape jazz. When people talk about Cape jazz, and New Orleans jazz … Because that generation never heard anybody else, except what they were playing themselves. Or may be what the English immigrants brought here. And I noticed also that while there was so much extemporising going on even in that vein with the musicians at the time, they had these violin figures with four fingers, one two three four, one two three four [sings and demonstrates it on the piano] … That caught up, because very much of this old music was played with those licks so to speak. But I was fascinated when I subsequently realised that that was "The Cat's Got the Weasel" … That was the reverse side of "Tafelberg Samba". Which people don't remember today, but I as a young musician fell in love with that song. There must have been lots of examples in music history when the reverse side becomes popular and not the main side. That's very much the case with "Mannenberg". Abdullah [Ibrahim] had just converted to Islam, came back here and made an LP called *The Hadj*. It was a time when they would put one song on a whole side of an LP … It was very much a tribute to his pilgrimage to Mecca, which is called the *Hadj*, it was very well done. The reverse side, I think they made up in the studio. Everybody's got a version about it. Monty Weber got a way of saying: "I gave the beat"; Robbie Jansen would say: "I did this". All the guys who were into the studio that day … Abdullah would just mythologise and say: "Well we found this piano with the thumbtacks on it", or something … But whatever, it must have been on the spot, which was very often what people did to put something on the reverse side. But the ultimate result is "Mannenberg". That was in the 1970s when that recording was made. Someone said to me, I think it was John Mason[3], that thing sold in wide amounts in Johannesburg. I had no idea, because I was not there, I was not aware. But I know in the Cape, during the UDF years, people like Robbie Jansen used to play it at rallies. Abdullah was out of the country, and Basil Coetzee, who eventually got nicknamed Basil "Mannenberg" Coetzee … And it's a time when the youth, or the movement got really integrated, a lot of black school children, a lot of black workers had mixed … the UDF movement was a very

non-racial movement, and a lot of Xhosa songs were learned at … I remember my children used to sing "*Jonga, Jonga Malenga Jonga* …", when the sun goes down or something [plays it on the piano and sings in isiXhosa]. It's a popular freedom song … It was big in Cape Town, my children used to sing it when they were at primary school. It was a time when this cross-cultural thing was happening at the political level. And I think "Manenberg" got popular in *that* environment. Because it very much sounds like an African traditional kind of tune, not a District Six thing at all … [plays "Mannenberg"]. But he does it in a much slower tempo and it's more dignified, on the record, and it's much more meditative. But the way Robbie Jansen and these guys played it, people used to sway to it at the rallies, and they'll all go mad … That was very much a rallying tune and it became almost like the struggle theme song. But yet its township basis is here, and its three chords thing. For me that was another example of how the reverse side of a recording became famous and no one remembers "The Hadj" …

Two families

Childhood memories, I mean … I'm always fascinated when people say "I remember when I was three years old" or something like that … That's very faint for me because of my origins. My father is an Italian, and my mother is a local woman and they didn't marry, so my grandmother who was widowed twice, and she was with her second husband, and she had a small child, and of course her older daughter gets pregnant, so she gets kicked out, like in an Italian family, so she ended up living with my father's relatives, and he was a young man, new even to the country, and so on and so on … So my very first years were in that fat, warm, emotional family, it was all about chocolates and pastry … nothing stimulating [points his finger to his head]. But they did play gramophone records, and I remember when I was a little boy, maybe when I was three, maybe my memory goes so far back, there were lots of Italians visiting the house, and they used to drink wine and to play records, whatever peasant music they had, they would play. But I remember on one occasion them fitting me with this little fascist outfit, black fascist little junior outfit, with this hat and the eagle on it, and I was fussed as a little boy, because obviously the old man was a Mussolini fan, you know he was a peasant. But I remember these people jumping up and down and there was a lamp hanging down, they didn't have electricity, it was a gas lamp with the beams … and the shadows of the light on the wall … Maybe my memory is more visual than musical. But as my life went along, the stepmother died, my mother

moved back with my grandmother, took me there, I was like seven years old or something like that, but the agreement with the two families was that I spend weekends with the family, and school days with … so that I was the child, the grandchild of both sides, so that was a great time with that family that spoils you rotten, you get what you like and the other part of the family, you get a peanut butter sandwich and then you wait till your supper, and you go to school every morning and you do your home work and you can't say my stomach is sore and then stay home … Quite a few years as a child, right throughout primary school, only when I became a teenager and I started developing my own thought, my own political thought, did I make a decision about where I wanted to be in the family. Because obviously there was a white/coloured situation as well, and they were at the two ends of the city. One was at the west end of the city, by the harbour, the other was at the east end, in District Six …

"The Music Goes Round and Round"

Another memory that goes back to the 1940s is the Sacred Heart church in Somerset Road, obviously it's a Catholic church, lots of candles, lots of incense, lots of organ music, church organ music, lots of immigrant families, they were all Catholics, the Irish were Catholics, the Portuguese were Catholics, the Italians were Catholics, the Philipinos were Catholics, there were black Catholics, Indian Catholics, and in this Babel of voices and accents, people spoke loud in those days … And of course the church music was there but again I think it was more the smell and the visual, than the actual sound. So I can't call myself a child prodigy musically in any way, but I was surrounded by all these sensual experiences. But in the house, there was this gramophone that, as a little child, you winded up, and that was great. Papa spoilt me rotten. The only caning that I can remember is for swearing, and I promised never to do it again because of the Virgin Mary and I don't know what … But they did play Caruso, you'd hear this voice, you'd hear this Italian organ, but also the younger people, the children of the old people, used to play Joe Loss[4], the English orchestra. I remember them putting on like novelty recordings, or maybe the hit parade of the day, because of the movies or whatever, and I remember one song, the first song I became aware of, that I remember was "The Music Goes Round and Round"[5] [sings it] that must have been from a movie [plays it on the piano and sings]. That sounds very much like a nursery tune and maybe that's why it stuck. They played it over and over in the house, the family. And when I sang it I would go [sings the melody and adds oum

papa oum papa oumpa oumpa oum papa at the end] and they would say: "No, that's is not the song", and I would say "Yes, that is the song". And my godmother, who was my mother's cousin, Angelina, she puts the record on, and she says, "My god, but the child is right" and I felt … I was cleverer than the adults, it was the accompaniment [demonstrates on the piano, the oum papa part, underlining the dissonance] that is a be-bop chord. Maybe Charlie Parker or Thelonius Monk grew up hearing it, I don't know. That's when I got my first jazz chord in my head, I realised that years later. So that tune is special to me in my memory, "The Music Goes Round and Round".

"Sorrento"

And of course, "Sorrento"[6] was sung to death [sings: "*Torna Sorrento, torna*" …] and it was one of the first tunes I actually learned to play [plays]. Now why I think I liked it is because there is also a change of key that takes it from minor to major. I started to play at my old people's home, when I was visiting because I learned to play in the youth club, there was a piano in the hall of the church and that's how I got started, I never grew up with one [plays "Sorrento"]. It does something to you when it changes from minor to major and as a child you feel that. And you get a sense of minor and major and of the feelings it evokes inside people [plays]. That's the song, but of course the way people did it [ends up the melody with a strong tremolo on the last chord], that always put the house down and you identified that with the song. So "Sorrento" has got a place in my memory for me because of this kind of dynamic, for me: sense of minor to major, and that grand ending. That was also a childhood memory …

Brazil

I think the next thing that happened to me was that … Oh the military bands … That part of the city, people came by ship, there weren't aeroplanes, so there was always a military band coming from the harbour, greeting the sailors or the soldiers, or whatever procession is in town [sings various parts of a military arrangement], and Salvation Army bands, and you're looking at the big thing as a child, and it was all: "oof boof boof boof". I can't say it thrilled me, but when I went to the other end of the city, District Six, I went to the local Catholic school there and I had a lot of musical experiences there. First of all, they were playing other music in the house, my uncles worked on the merchant ships and they brought a

lot of recordings or people home, and it was not just Italian, many of them were Brazilians and they played these records to death. And my mother having grown up in that environment could speak like four languages, just by association and so did my grandmother. And so whenever my uncles had a problem with … translation … I remember the Portuguese say: *pergunta para Isabella*, *pergunta para Isabella*, saying "ask Isabella", that's my mother, and my mother would say: *vão em bora, vão em bora*, or my grandmother, "go away the party is over". As a child, you pick up these little things, people communicating in broken English, broken Portuguese and so on and so on … But one of the recordings that stayed up in my memory is a Brazilian recording, a few of them. One is called "*Paraquedista*"[7] and the other I don't even remember how it is called. But I can actually repeat the words, not that I was taught because when you hear it so often on the record, it registers, and maybe you mispronounce it, but I've often put it past Portuguese speakers, and they said to me: "We know what you are saying", this is not too bad. I put it past a Brazilian once and he said "No, that's not Brazilian, that's old Portuguese", this goes back to the 1940s, it says something about the way the Brazilian language has developed since the 1940s. And I still enjoy it because my mother's younger sister was two years older than me and we grew up remembering our childhood, and she would say: "Vincent, play '*Na minha casa manda eu*'." She's dead now, and I would [sings the song][8] … There is always a guy with a high-pitched voice on this recording, it was not like down there, and maybe as a child, I liked the up there because the Bing Crosbys were down there, and when you are eight years old, it does not appeal to you. And there is again something jaunty about the melody [plays and sings in Portuguese: "*Na minha casa mando eu*"]. That was the introduction, with the trombone. And then there was a time when the record stopped, and that for me was dramatic: "*Pois sim*" which must mean shame or something[9] … I think his wife must have beaten him or … It was about a bloke who didn't bring his money home and his wife hit him with a pan, and then the music stops and we used to say, "*Pois sim*" … I hope it's right. But I do remember the introduction.

The ship connection

There were also other songs that people liked because they played them over and over again, because it was good to dance to. And I hear even today, I have a Cuban record, and they still play this tune, so it must be bloody old [plays it]. What must have impressed me at the time … it was an easy rhythm [sings it] and they would dance to it, but I think what I started hearing was chord changes [demonstrates

on the piano]. And that's very South American, very Brazilian, this kind of chord sequence. And I think that stuck with me the way … I started hearing … you stop listening to the melody and you start listening to the harmonies. And these were old 78 recordings, and it was not like modern hi-fi things so you really had to listen [plays, coming back to the bridge of the tune several times] and I realise now, because they would also play local music, like "Tafelberg Samba", they even played square dances on records, there is so much similarities between the rhythms and the lines, because I started picking up [plays the Cuban tune], there is something universal about these lines [melodies from Brazil, Cuba and South Africa] that either developed independently or because it's a class … you don't know why people do what they do … why it's the same all over the world: carnivals, and the lines and the voicings, and the beats. The chord changes are very much [plays the Cuban tune then "Mannenberg"]. That's why I get impatient with those harmonies, so I will go about the [plays "Mannenberg" with added chord changes] till it gets musically interesting for me, otherwise I fall asleep. And I think that's the difference with township music and with port music, there is a kind of playing with minors and majors, and change of keys, and chordal things. I think the guitar must have a hell of a lot to do with it, because the guitar travels with ships, and people sitting on ships with guitars and exchanging ideas. And of course, there was a lot of that, my uncles and their friends playing [mimics people playing the guitar], playing Mills Brothers[10] and things, and Brazilian … and I think the shipping lines must have connected all the stuff. Somehow, because of the guitar you get this [plays chord changes on the piano]. Now that's not township chord structures, that's not rural, urban, I don't know what it is. Some other magic, but I would like to argue that what we … what I am doing here is the result of me being a city kid. I never grew up … you know there were no townships when I was a child, not even black townships not really, not to the extent that there are now, not really, most black people lived in the city. And I believe that Temmy Hawker, his daughter says he travelled around the world like seven times, as a merchant seaman. He's a migrant guy who came to Cape Town, he could have been of mixed parents, because his surname is Hawker, that's Scottish, lots of Scottish men slept with Xhosa women; he came here and married a coloured woman from District Six and her brother was a piano player called Glyder, I remember him, he used to sit on the back of a lorry advertising Cavalier cigarettes, Glyder, and then he worked on the merchant ships, and came back a jazz musician and taught Christopher Colombus and Jimmy Adams and everybody. And I think this has got to do with what he awakened here in the townships, in Langa, and all those places,

I think it all goes down to guys like Temmy Hawker who brought the outside world into the townships, and jazz …

Victor Silvester

My mother used to do ballroom dancing, so … Victor Silvester[11] [plays] … Lots of harmonic changes here, Cole Porter and all that stuff came into the house with Victor Silvester. I used to listen to the bass line [sings: poom poom poompoompoom]. I loved listening to the bass line and the melody line, and I eventually picked up the voicings without knowing what I played, it was like having a linear … like what they used to have in Elizabethan times, this is lines interflowing, and I still play like that today. My friend, with whom I play, asks me: "Show me the chords", and I say: "I don't play chords, I play lines, interweaving lines, the voicings." So all that stuff was there but I remember the Victor Silvester because they used to change keys a lot in the Victor Silvester recordings, my God, they used to … [plays, underlining the chord changes] he did a lot of that in his recordings and I became conscious of that and later they told me it's modulation … And then the other thing that fascinated me: my grandmother said, "There are two pianos playing", and I said, "What, two pianos?" and I started listening and there's a piano playing the tickling notes here [the treble] and there's a piano playing down there. But the strict tempo, the variety of tunes, and the interesting harmonies educated my ear in such a way that, as God would have it, in 1974, when I went to London for the first time, they were having the ballroom dancing world championship in the Royal Albert Hall, the finals. So I said, "Let's go", and these people said, "You're crazy this place has been booked up months in advance, this is the finals of the world's ballroom championship", then they said, "I think someone didn't turn up tonight, I think there's a place on the stage behind the band." Believe me, and I sat behind the Victor Silvester band and I watched these two pianos interweave, and watched the two pianos play, and I wished I could thank my grandmother, and I said, "Thanks Ma! I can see what they were doing now."

Opera and dance

They [the members of Vincent Kolbe's family and their friends] were not musically educated people, but they had an ear, especially my mama. I remember my mama used to sing opera and Jeanette MacDonald[12], home style, they just sang that

because it was the popular tune of the day, of the films and … they still had opera, there was an opera house … My mother bought all these Benjamino Gili[13] and Arturo Toscanini[14], she used to like to say the words, their names "Benjamino Gili", "Arturo Tosca …" or something like that you know. She and her friends used to talk about them, and they used to play these ten inches of Jascha Heifetz[15]. My mother thought she was Jewish, I thought we were Jewish, my mother worked for a Jewish hostel in town and I grew up there, and they gave me a hat and I had a ring and I was circumcised, and years later I discovered I was a Catholic, my mother was not a Catholic. All these sounds came through my family's favourite music … They also taught you to dance, you must learn to dance. They were always looking for male partners, so at 14 I had to learn to dance. This was family recreation after a day's work, during the week and during week ends. We were not a drinking family. You'd rather speak to my grandmother, she had six big sons, all fishermen: "My boys don't blow smoke in my face!", so they put up their cigarettes when their mama was in the room. But very austere, you go to school, you do you home work, you eat one peanut butter sandwich, it was not like the Italian family. There was big rivalry between the two families. Comes the weekend and my papa went: "Look at him, look at him, they don't give the child food! Give the child food." And they gave me food, chocolates. And Monday, another child would come to school and bring me something that they made for me, because my other granny don't give me enough. It was great, it was great being a boy in that time …

Organ pedalboard

So, going back to the music of the house: Edmundo Ros[16], Victor Silvester, the Mills Brothers, and these musics on the ships, very much played, and the square dancing … Now, I've got to go to school, I've got to go to church, there was not really a school choir; people would just stand up and sing Irish songs, because all the nuns were Irish, all the teachers were Irish nuns [sings "Molly Malone", "Glorious St Patrick", "God Bless the Pope"]. Sometimes we jazzed up the songs, and the Sisters would say: "Stop that!" … What I did like was being an altar servant, because I loved the smell of incense, I loved the candles, I loved all the garments, and the bell that I was ringing, but the organ fascinated me. In those days, we used to pray in Latin, so I know all my … [recites the Pater Noster, the Lord's Prayer, in Latin], the mass was always in Latin, that was before it became vernacular. So the ritual is always the same, the sermon is boring, but I used to wait for the Sister to play the organ, because I used to listen to the foot playing on the pedal, and I said, "My God, you're playing

with your foot …" [sings a bass line]. But the hymns were very boring, all Mother Mary hymns [plays and sings]. That you learn from listening to the church organ. So that's another bit of education that you're getting there, you see.

Big bands and Christmas Choirs

On my way to school I used to pass a hostel for black migrant workers called St Columba[17] and they always sang there. Sundays, going to mass, I hear these people sing their harmonies, the Xhosa hymns in harmony, and it used to sound fantastic to me, like Gregorian chant or something, and then of course there were other times during the week when I passed there going to the youth club, and they would all be singing, never instrumental music, always singing coming out of this hostel and that fascinated me. It was my first black experience as a child. My other black experience was … lots of these dairies and shops had yards at the back where the workers lived because there were no townships, no travel by bus and you must be up by six o'clock in the morning to work in the butchery or in the bakery. They always used to cook outside and always played records in Xhosa, and we heard this. Another black experience I had … there was a hall in District Six called the Wintergarden Hall, it was in a street called Ayre Street, and I think it was first settled by Scottish workers and then taken over by black people and it's very much in the memory of old musicians of Langa, because that's where they had a social centre for black people and they had choirs, choral groups, ballroom dancing and they had jazz. So you'd find the Merry Macs[18], and Duke's father[19], and all those people Blyth Mbityana, and Henry Mokone, I actually met these people there, and they used to play ballroom, orchestrated ballroom, harmony orchestrated ballroom. The coloured bands could not play orchestrated ballroom, they used to play with a very Duke Ellington sound. But of course I used to wait for the *marabi* sound to come on, and that, you absorb that. I also absorbed a lot of the Christmas bands because they were either marching in the streets or practising at someone's place and I was fascinated by the way they turned every hymn into a march, everything had to be marched. The Christmas clubs, choirs, was like: if you buy your cloths in bulk, you'll have a suit and a sports jacket and a pants very cheap. And you play the banjo, the guitar, you get paid. So marching around the streets at Christmas time, for the Christians, I mean lots of Muslims played in the bands … I used to love especially when the cello player, when he played, he played "toom toom toom", they put tape on their fingers; [demonstrates: plays a hymn on the piano with a "cello line" that sounds a bit like a boogie woogie figure]. They liked to syncopate it, the Christmas

hymns, which they didn't do in church. Church was very straight but the Christmas bands would have the banjo [sings syncopated lines] and the people used to do this. It was just jazzing up hymns in street bands. And there were times when they would do a break, the music would stop and the whole band would stop [plays a kind of ragtime march]. And everybody in the street would respond and stomp their feet. It's wonderful how music involves the crowd. And that was the Christmas bands experience. When they got to the house where they had to play, then they played seriously, without the beat. They played like the Malay Choirs [plays]. Then they go inside and they have cool drinks or tea, and off to the next house. And that was the Christmas Choirs. And it was fascinating what they did to hymns after you'd heard them in church, because there were no Catholic Christmas bands, they were more in the Anglican tradition. And the Boys Brigade always marched up and down the streets with their flutes and drums and stuff doing something very similar.

A popular Cape Town dance band of the 1950s.

Temmy Hawker

Then the dance bands were very popular because people used to dance every weekend, my mother and her family and them: the school dance, the church dance, the sports club dance, there was always a fundraising, and I was 16 and I could dance and they used to put me in long pants and I would go to the dance, and I would

dance with the ladies because they needed a partner and they paid my ticket. So I had to learn the waltz, the fox trots, the quick step … And that's how I could hear the dance bands live, and this very Temmy Hawker that we speak about, I actually heard him play and I fell in love with his sound; [showing a picture of Abrahams and his Tempo Band] this is not his band, but this is a typical District Six dance band. All these men were in the army. And then after the war they would form a dance band with bow ties and play from music. There is a music stand to show that this is a literate band: "We play from music" and we wear bow ties. Very different from *sakkie sakkie* and *langarm*, it's like very formal. Alf Wyllie, Johnny Wyllie's father, was a member of that church and he had a barber shop and he also had a dance band … but he had Temmy Hawker as one of his saxophonists. And they used to play all the ballroom stuff. But as youngsters we used to wait for the jive, because that time the jive came up [sings "In the Mood"], and then we came to life as the young squad and we all took the floor and all do this and do that. And then Temmy Hawker would walk up with his saxophone and play the jazz licks like we heard on the recordings of Glenn Miller and Benny Goodman and he'd have that jazz sound, and for us that was jazz. I didn't know him personally, but when Alf Wyllie's band with Temmy Hawker was there, we would wait for two … one was the jive, and Temmy Hawker would get up and take the solo and play like, I forget now who Glenn Miller's star tenor saxophone was[20] [sings the sax tenor solo on "In the Mood], we used to love it and I used to imagine myself playing the saxophone. The other thing we waited for … there were always novelty numbers like *marabi*, it was very popular with everybody, it wasn't just for black people … like the "*Wimoweh*"[21] kind of song you know [plays], as youngsters we did all that, and then of course Temmy Hawker would come up and do a solo; God, we went mad. That was a time when people integrated much more, and there were black people living in District Six, I'm talking about the 1950s now, 1940s and 1950s, because I turned 21 in the 1950s… Then I used to go to the Wintergarden. When the man in my street asked me to play in his band[22], my mummy said: "You're not gonna play in this band because, they're all drunk, all drunkards", he said: "Madam, we don't drink in our band" and I said: "Please Mama I want to play in the band". OK. So I joined them and that band took me to places I would never have been to … Wintergarden Hall in Ayre Street was one of them, playing in hotels, playing for picnics in the bush, playing in private houses, just because you were part of a band. I could see everything, from *dagga* smoking to … all life, you name it, people always needed a band, wedding parties, whatever. And that's the whole story, the social settings, the gangsterism that you learn to deal with. One of the tricks I learned from Mr Wyllie, they had the

Drill in town, and the piano was on the corner of the stage and there were glasses of wine and people used to pass … that was the bar, you could buy a drink and go and dance. And there was always someone looking at you over the piano [with a strange gaze]. And Mr Wyllie said: "Look we're not gonna get out of here. I'll tell you what. I'll pack up the drums, I'll continue playing the bass drum but someone will take the other parts of the set, so when you leave, you just carry the drums and you run out, the banjo player will keep going, the bassist he can pack up, but Vincent, you must play till the end. So people danced and they drank and he said attack the keyboard, don't be afraid" [plays forcefully a chord progression]. I really banged on that old piano and it resonates because there is no amplification. He said: "Put your foot on the pedal", you "vamped" as they say …

Carnival and Coons

The carnival of course was the big one, we all wanted to be in the carnival, and our mothers said, "No, no way", because the carnival was about drug dealers and drug takers and respectable people don't join the carnival. But we all could play our carnival in the houses and in the streets, on tins and on spoons, and we made our little stands and marched on … as kids we just do it as a lot of other kids do it. But, this is the part I like to tell, when I started playing in dance bands, you play a whole range of music in the dance bands, from European to American, to black, to Malay Choirs, because of the city you live in. And when you play at a Jewish wedding, you must play "*Hava, Nagila*", but at a Greek wedding, you must play Greek music. You know a band gets booked by various people and you have to play Afrikaans music, jazz … At one stage an Afrikaans *boereorkes* asked me to play with them. It was part of your experience … But I always studied part-time, playing piano was a weekend thing, a great hobby, I also used to play football a lot, I was a very busy young man. But getting together with your pals, and getting a chance to play in a band was always great. It was like being in a cricket team, you don't practise, you just go and hit the ball. So the carnival was the big one. When I started playing in Mr Matty van Niekerk's dance band, they used to be booked for the Christmas Choirs, for the Malay Choirs … you play saxophone, everybody books you, for the dances, for the carnival … and Mr Matty van Niekerk used to tell me, "You see these respectable people, with the bow ties, that's floating like if they were royalties, wait until 11 o'clock, when they get drunk, the Coon comes out", and it's just like that. Because, he tells the band, "OK, carnival time" [plays a carnival tune] and people go mad and he says, "You see the coloured is coming

out now". That was his comments and I was a youngster and I realised … culture confusion, identity confusion, what music does to loosen up people, I started realising the power of music. You had those very smart things, bow ties on men, starched shirts, ladies on their arm and they were playing like some respectable *ous* [fellows, people], because: "We're not Coons, we're respectable people, coloured people, respectable, we're teachers", and stuff. And Mr Matty van Niekerk used to say: "Don't worry Vincent, 11 o'clock, when they got a few drinks in, you play carnival music, then the Coon comes out of them". So the last hour was always carnival time, and the banjo played [demonstrates on the piano] and the people went "ooh ooh ooh" … And even white people used to do it, this is the interesting thing. You play for a Jewish wedding, and you play carnival music and they're all out of their thing, they make like Coons. The trouble with the carnival here is that it's got a stigma as you well know. I don't know how it is in other countries, but the carnival was so stigmatised … Yet people internalised it and identified with it. Every Christmas time, there is a plane coming from Sydney, Australia, with like 60 expats on it, with 60 people or … they come to New Year's Eve dance, just to have that have kind of party, and that says a lot about the power of culture and identity and all that stuff …

And of course, if the house didn't have a piano, they used to give me a piano accordion and I played the piano accordion, just the keys, I didn't play the buttons. We also played a lot of picnics, we played in the bush. People were dancing and when we finished the gig, they said: "Vincent, you're gonna play with us, you're gonna play with the *Nagtroepe*", Caledonian Roses, Young Stars. Rugby clubs were also Malay things, when we used to play, we would play outside the house and sing the *liedjies* … I can sing "*Roesa*" for you from beginning to end, but the way I learned it as a youngster. "*Roesa*" is a Cape wedding song, why they call it Malay, I don't know, but it's in Afrikaans. And every year they used to have a rugby match on the Green Point track between the Young Stars of Bo-Kaap and Caledonian Roses of District Six, it was supposed to be a charity match, but so many blokes went to hospital after each match … And each team would have a band playing opposite in the stadium, and we would march in with the drum major and take up our position to support the team and we would have music, like the varsity rag. And these blokes are killing each other on the field there … That took me to places I would never have been, into picnics and functions I would never have seen. I made friends with Henry Mokone, and Duke's father, but they were big guys, and Cups Nkanuka, he's still alive, and that's how I learned to play with black musicians or listen to them … And my memory of Wintergarden Hall is those lodges, that Free Masons hall, you

would have these poles and these balconies, and the wooden floors and the stage. And I'll never forget it, there was a piece of plank missing in this part of the hall. And the hall was crowded, and everybody danced around that hole, and nobody put their foot in it. I used to watch that hole: when is someone going to put their foot in it? … Little pieces of memory you have … But just to be there, with these guys … Duke's father used to play barefoot, with that sax.

Langa

The next thing that happened to me. We used to have a youth club as part of the church where we used to have doo-wop, and all that, and we had concerts, "A night in Rio". My other memory is, I was studying for librarianship and I had to go on duty as a library student, I used to go to Langa every Saturday morning, that was before you needed passes and all that stuff, I'm talking about the 1950s, before they made the laws, and I worked there every Saturday morning with the black librarian. It was built during the war time and that was the Langa Library, and I learned so much about what people read, what they study, the people of that community … But when I knocked off there, I used to go to the Langa Town Hall, which is built with the gables, the Langa Town Hall, where they had song and dance every Saturday afternoon, song and dance. I've read recently in some magazine called *Roots* that that comes from the mountains of the Sotho – oh God shut up! It was urban music, people have been living … They were born in Langa, they did not come from the mountains, they were born there, they were urban people, and they played records, and gramophones, and Duke Ellington, and Fats Waller, and they danced ballroom. And I remember going there on a Saturday afternoon and there was Thandie Klaasen[23], and all these people, they used to be there, plus the local stars, and in the afternoon they had a talent contest, they had a microphone there and a piano and maybe a drums. And when I came from the library, they'd all come to me, "Vince, Vince", because I could play the chords of at least "Blue Moon", because there is a middle part that everybody is scared of, and I knew it. So I sat there and I played "Blue Moon", person after person, it was like Pop Idol, then later on the adults would come, the big guns would come, the big bands, then we must make way for the adults. The dance is on, and I used to watch these guys play: Cups, Henry Mokone. He was a well-dressed guy, tie, pins, spats, he spoke English very well, trumpet, sweet trumpet sound, and then Blyth Mbityana played trombone. I went to buy a trombone, a second-hand trombone, old one, and I went to Blyth and I said: "I want to play the trombone, show me the

positions", and I must practise, and I must play my three notes [sings: papapapa pa pa], and I would get up there with my trombone and stand with the band when they played the *marabi*, myself and Blyth, and I could play the trombone … in my own way … One day, I put Vaseline on it, one day the trombone stepped right over, broken. I took it to Jimmy Adams, they said he's a clever man, he will fix it, those days, he used to drink a lot, he used to play a lot with the black guys, he learned from Temmy Hawker, Temmy Hawker taught him, he always preferred the black bands to the coloured bands, and to the *langarm* bands, he liked orchestrating for three or four saxophones. It's a pity he's dead now but Colin Miller did interview him, he was one of the older guys I knew. I went back to his house and I saw he made a lampshade out of my trombone, that was the end of my trombone career …

(No) piano lessons

All the churches in District Six had a youth club, to keep the children off the road, they always had sports: a soccer team, table tennis, and there was the park there, Trafalgar Park, you go to the swimming pool or play cricket, but to keep us off the streets and off crime. They always had a glee club and someone to teach this and to teach that, weight-lifting and what have you. People from the university used to come and teach there, drama, and this one woman Peggy Harper, she took myself and another chap to the university, she asked us if anyone of us wanted to learn ballet and we said that we didn't want to learn ballet but music. So she took us up to the College of Music and to a very famous man Harold Rubens, he was a very famous Cape Town piano player, I think he became a professor at the College of Music. And we were looking at this place and you know we're like youth, teenagers so he plays and asks, "How many notes am I playing", I said, "Three notes, four notes." He calls Mrs Harper and says, "I'm gonna give him a piano teacher", and he gets one of his students, I'll never forget the name, Mrs Phyllis, and he says,"You'll get free music lessons" at the university. You know when you're that age, you think you've arrived, you don't think it's a journey … I won. And then I went home and I didn't go back. So she phoned, and I was working then, I was working in the library in the Gardens, and she phoned one day and said, "Won't you come to the piano lessons?", I said "I haven't got a piano" – "No, but we can organise it" – "But I am studying, you know, I'm doing part-time studies", I made all the excuses in the book, I was not going to go to piano lessons. Because my plate was full, with girlfriends, I'm happy in the youth club, and playing you know [plays a boogie

woogie], who wants to know more than that at that stage? …

But as a result of that I do that to other people today. That's why I got involved in MAPP. MAPP actually got scholarships for a lot of guys from the townships who now got their BMus. And at the Table Bay Hotel where I played, there was a youngster. The young guy was cleaning the floor, and he says: "I can play the piano, you know"; I say: "Yeah, come and play", and he sits and he plays and you can see he is playing by ear [plays], and I say: "Where did you learn to play?"; he says: "This is gospel, we learn it in our church"; I said: "Have you got a piano?", he says, "No". He works here and he messes on the piano in the hotel, on a Steinway … So I say: "You know you are practising on the world's best piano, and it's very good for your ear because you're hearing good music". He says: "Yes, but I want someone to teach me"; and I say: "I can't teach you, but I can put you in touch with some people". So I went to the College of Music and I talked to Paul Sedres, and Paul gave me a number, and I gave it to him, I just hope that he followed it up … A youngster with talent, real talent. I said: "You've gotta get a better job, you can't clean floors all your life." He lives in Kraaifontein and he belongs to some Pentecostal Church, and that's the story of his life … And it gives me great pleasure to do that, nowadays, now that I've got to this stage of my life, blessed with many good things, and some stupid things …

Harold Jephta and Johnny Gertze

On the road from the Catholic church was a Lutheran church, and I had to pass this church to get to the Catholic church. And one Saturday afternoon, I walked past the church, they've got these wires on the windows, and I looked inside, and there were people playing music, youth, with guitars and there was someone playing the bongos, and I had only seen bongos in the movies. So I went to stand at the door and I went to look for the man, and he asks me: "Do you want to join us?" I said "Yes". He doesn't know I am a Catholic: "Come inside, come inside", and I met there, who did I meet there? Harold Jephta, Johnny Gertze, young guys, and I stopped going to the Catholic club, I didn't become a Lutheran but I hang out with the Lutherans because they had bongos. And that's how I made friends with them. And then all these things came together when I turned 21 and I got my library diploma and I got a job at the City Council, and I was playing now in a dance band weekends, and I was playing football, and table tennis, I had a life, and I had a girlfriend and all that stuff. And then Harold and I became friends, and I was invited to spend weekends at his house in Elsies River, so I started going

to Elsies River weekends. There was he and Johnny Gertze who was like 17 or 18 then, and a few other guys. I couldn't believe that Johnny Gertze was real, because I went to his house in Bishop Lavis, and they were poor, and his mother used to have gospel services in his house, and he must have grown up with gospel. When you're surrounded by singing people in a small house … because he could hear anything: we put on a record, anything, and he'd say, "Oh, that's like this, it's like this" [plays chords on the piano] or he takes the guitar and he gets it right or he takes the clarinet and he gets it right, and the off-beat, you know the be-bop off-beat, he just got it right, he heard everything, he was an amazing young guy to me. And they used to play Clifford Brown, they used to play Bud Powell, first time I heard all that stuff, Charlie Parker, they had all these records.

I spent every weekend with them. Johnny took up the bass only because there was none else to play the bass, that's how he became a bass player. But he could play the trumpet as well, and the clarinet. It was an amazing experience to meet this guy. I had met people before with that kind of talent, Dougie Erasmus is one of them. He was in-between my house and my school. He had a Latin band. And we used to stand outside the window and listen to them … And I said, I want to play like that, because he did all this you know [plays licks on the piano] and I wanted to do that. So we started to have our little Latin band at the church. And he could do anything. I thought he was just amazing. And there was also Arthur Gillies, who also went to school with us, he was younger than us. He could hear anything and play it. Later on I met Tony Schilder, who is younger than us, he could also hear anything and play it. So I met people like that who had perfect pitch. Then I realised … until now I'm still astounded that I'm living in a part of the world where that talent prevails, until this very day. There's something genetic, or something in the air here, but maybe also in Rio, or in other parts of the world, I don't know, where this kind of individual manifest themselves. And you realise how amazing it is. And Johnny Gertze was my first experience of that.

At some point Mr Matty said, "Listen Vincent, you don't want to play with us any more, you want to play with your friends". I said: "Yes". So he said: "I'll get another piano player". So I went to play with Harold Jephta and them, and I learned all the Clifford Brown stuff because of the records … and then we started a bop club in Waterkant Street, at St John's Church, that's all gone now. And the girls would wear the skirts, and we the be-bop stuff … and we would play be-bop music, and it became like George Shearing[24], and we imitated George Shearing's tunes and so … It was really a wonderful period, we were all like young people and building a new culture …

Notes

1. More information on Vincent Kolbe, especially on his activities as a militant librarian can be found in: Dick 2007, and at: http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/article664981.ece/Obituary--Vincent-Kolbe--Pianist-librarian-and-activist; http://cangonet.wordpress.com/articles/librarians-and-readers-in-the-south-african-struggle/; and http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/2010/09/vincent-kolbe-1933-2010.html (accessed 30/12/2010).
2. Vincent Kolbe probably means the English 1850s nursery rhyme "Pop Goes the Weasel".
3. John Edwin Mason, professor of African history and history of photography at the University of Virginia; see: Mason 2010 and http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/ (accessed 31/12/2010).
4. Joe Loss (1909–1990) was a British violinist and band leader whose orchestra was very successful in the 1940s; his version of "In the mood" became extremely popular.
5. "The music Goes Round and Round" was composed in 1935 by Edward Farley and Mike Riley, with lyrics by Red Hodgson. Tommy Dorsey and His Orchestra had a hit the following year with their arrangement of that song. A Betty Boop comic also contributed to making it a success.
6. The genuine Italian title of this Neapolitan song is "T*orna a Surriento*". It was composed in 1902 by Ernesto and Giambattista de Curtis, and was sung by operatic tenors such as Mario Lanza, Giuseppe di Stefano, Luciano Pavarotti, but also by pop stars like Elvis Presley or Dean Martin. The manner in which Vincent Kolbe sings it suggests that his relatives played an interpretation by an Italian tenor.
7. "*Paraquedista*" (The Paratrooper) is an instrumental *choro* composed by José Léocadio and recorded by Severino Araújo e sua Orquestra Tabajara in 1945–1946 (http://homolog.ims.com.br/cgi-bin/wxis.exe/iah/; accessed 02/01/2011).
8. The song Vincent Kolbe remembers is a samba titled "*Na minha casa mando eu*" (In my home, I'm the boss), composed by Ciro de Souza and recorded by Jorge Veiga in 1945 (http://homolog.ims.com.br/cgi-bin/wxis.exe/iah/; accessed 02/01/2011). It says, "At home, I am the boss / And none else / That's why when I have spoken, everyone shouts: / 'We all agree ! That's very well!'." I want to thank Professor Carlos Sandroni, Music Department, Federal University of Pernambuco, who identified the song from a recording of Vincent Kolbe's interview. Carlos Sandroni added that, if Jorge Veiga is a well-known singer, Ciro de Souza is not a famous composer and the song was not a hit in Brazil. He was quite surprised to learn that it had reached South Africa and that Vincent Kolbe could remember the words quite accurately, although he misunderstood their meaning.
9. *Pois sim!* actually means "Certainly not!".
10. The Mills Brothers, John, Herbert, Harry and Donald, formed a vocal quartet which became famous in the 1930s and 1940s for their imitation of instrumental sounds. They straddled the frontier between jazz and pop music and recorded with, among others, Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Count Basie and Cab Calloway.
11. Victor Silvester (1900–1978) was a famous English dancer and dance band leader who was instrumental in the development of ballroom dancing and music for ballroom dancing from the mid-1930s to the mid-1970s.
12. Jeannette MacDonald (1903–1965) was an actress and singer who featured in many musical films and also, after studying with Lotte Lehmann, sang opera on stage. She contributed to popularising opera in the working classes.

13. Benjamino Gili (1890–1957) was an Italian tenor who sang in Naples, Milan and New York.
14. Arturo Toscanini (1867–1957) is considered to have been one of the most important conductors of the 20th century. He conducted, among many others, the orchestras of the La Scala in Milan and of the New York Metropolitan Opera.
15. Jascha Heifetz (1901–1987) was considered as one of the greatest virtuoso violin players of the 20th century.
16. Edmundo Ros (1910–) is a Trinidadian-born singer who led a popular rumba band in Great Britain that performed sophisticated arrangements on "Latin" rhythms.
17. The St Columba "Kafir Boarding House" was founded by Father Frederick William Puller of the Anglican Society of St John the Evangelist in 1886. With the night school established near Zonnebloem, it created the core from which developed a small Christian African community in central Cape Town (Bickford-Smith et al. 1998: 237; http://ssje.org/cowleymagazine/?p=39?; accessed 02/01/2011).
18. The Merry Macs was, from the 1940s to the 1970s, Langa's most famous jazz big band.
19. Saxophonist and bandleader Christopher Columbus Ngcukana.
20. Texe Beneke, who solos on "In the Mood".
21. "*Wimoweh*" is the name given to a song originally titled "*Mbube*" by his composer, Solomon Linda, released by Gallo Records Company in 1939. The song became extremely popular and *mbube* became a generic name for *isicathamiya* songs. "*Mbube*" was covered by numerous international acts, and, slightly adapted, became known as "The Lion Sleeps Tonight". On the history of "*Mbube*" and of the restitution of his artistic rights to Solomon Linda and his family, see: Rian Malan, "Where does the Lion sleeps tonight?", originally published in *Rolling Stone*, and accessible on line at: http://www.3rdearmusic.com/forum/mbube2.html (accessed 5/07/2011).
22. The Paramount Dixies Band.
23. Thandie Klaasen (1931–) is a renowned jazz singer who sang and danced with the Harlem Swingsters and the Gay Gaieties in the 1950s, and toured Great Britain with *King Kong* in the early 1960s; on Thandie (sometimes spelt Tandie) Klaasen, see: Maureen Isaacson & Minky Schlesinger, *Tandie's Blues, the Life Story of Tandie Klaasen*, Johannesburg, Viva Books, 1995.
24. George Shearing (1919–2011) is a British-born piano player and band leader who emigrated to the United States and became extremely popular with a quintet including a vibraphone and a guitar that played a softened but harmonically quite elaborate version of be-bop.

CHAPTER FOUR

Separation and Interweaving in the 20th Century: Fertile Intertwining

Vincent Kolbe's childhood memories exemplify the wealth and diversity of musics that could be heard, appreciated and appropriated in Cape Town. His contention was that Cape Town was a creole city because it was a port city through which echoes of the world could enter South Africa, and be transformed to nourish local processes of creation. Singer Sathima Bea Benjamin mentioned other repertoires that were popular in Cape Town during the 20th century, repertoires that decisively fashioned her musical tastes and her singing style: English and American pop songs. "Some people do not understand why I sing this traditional repertoire of English songs, sometimes dating back to the Victorian era, or tunes from musicals. I have been occasionally criticised for it[1], because it sounds like alienation … It is not true. They are part and parcel of my culture. I was surrounded by their harmonies when I was a child … I always sang them … I was raised by my grandmother who came from St Helena and behaved in a very rigorous English way. We lived in a British culture, whose features had been exacerbated by its export to the colonies. These were the songs I heard, besides religious hymns I used to sing at church. The radio broadcast English-American pop songs: Doris Day, Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole. Then there was Cape Town's popular music. Finally Duke Ellington. I want to keep everything. I have the Nations in me."[2] Other Capetonians would even add to this non-exhaustive list the broad variety of pieces played by dance bands, adapted from Muslim songs, Jewish songs, Afrikaner songs, Portuguese songs, French songs (Nixon 1997: 21).

The Development of Jazz in Cape Town

Vincent Kolbe's musical life, as well as the itineraries of Temmy Hawker, Jimmy Adams, "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka, Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana,

Sathima Bea Benjamin, Abdullah Ibrahim[3], Chris McGregor, Winston Mankunku Ngozi and many other jazz musicians, show that the diversity of musics that constituted the soundscape of Cape Town during most of the 20th century did not amount to a patchwork of various styles and genres, but eventually blended to produce several mixes from which creation could spring forth. In this situation, jazz did not only appear as one of the possible Cape Town mixes, but as an amalgamating and transforming force capable of absorbing everything and of generating original forms of music. Jazz could play this role both for musical and social reasons. Musically, its forms are open, having evolved in the course of the 20th century and have proved able to digest an infinity of musical influences without losing its characteristics. "Jazz," writes Gwen Ansell, "provided a common language, allowing musicians to transcend the barriers apartheid was erecting" (Ansell 2004: 72). Sharing this language allowed musicians, and listeners, to remain connected with an outer world of alternative mixed modernities from which the apartheid government wanted South Africans to be isolated, and allowed them to meet in conditions which spurred creation. According to Cape Town jazz expert Colin Miller, "[…] in South Africa, where legislation was designed to keep people of different races separate, jazz had an integrating function. Musicians of different colour, who otherwise would not have come together, found themselves performing on the same platform, jamming at each other's homes, or just simply hanging out" (Miller 2007: 134). Jazz carried even more weight in South Africa because the word covered a much larger field than in most other societies where it was performed. Originally jazz is of extremely mixed origins; although most of its most famous creators were African-American, some of its internationally recognised exponents belonged to other groups. In South Africa, it had never been separated from other forms of popular music[4] and had acquired, especially in urban contexts, a symbolic dimension connoting rhythms of life, modernity, creativity, implying *métissage* and creolisation, words which were not commonly used before the 1990s.

Jazz reached Cape Town after the end of World War I, at a time when the word was beginning to be used in the United States and the music was still in the process of being invented from regional styles rooted in New Orleans, Chicago and New York (Martin 1991). Whatever the type of music that was actually inscribed in their grooves, it seems that recordings of American music were brought to Cape Town by sailors as early as the late 1910s (Ndzuta 2007: 15). Seventy-eight rpm discs continued to bring jazz, syncopated music, songs and numbers from musicals and were soon supplemented with films. Among these was *The Jazz Singer*[5], which

had a special impact because it was technically avant-garde (actors could be heard talking and singing), featured a "minstrel" akin to the New Year Carnival revellers, and mixed what was named jazz (actually a kind of variety song derived from "ragtime" and "Coon" songs) with more indigenous repertoires (Jewish religious songs). The flow of American music irrigating Cape Town increased after World War II, when American and British bands playing jazz and dance music visited South Africa (Ndzuta 2007: 17) and recordings of the new styles that emerged in the United States in the 1940s began to be available.

The emergence of jazz big bands in Cape Town before 1948

The new genres of music originating in the United States, and sometimes known in Cape Town through the mediation of British musicians, were grafted upon the musical trunks that had been growing in the Mother City since at least the 18th century. Coloured musicians, heirs to a long tradition of dance orchestras, were logically among the first to organise modern dance bands modelled after American and British ensembles; in the 1930s they had a virtual monopoly in the dance halls, and these bands were popular not only among coloureds, but also among Africans and whites. In the 1940s and 1950s Africans formed their own dance orchestras and contributed significantly to their "jazzification" under the influence of American jazz big bands such as those led by Duke Ellington, Count Basie or Glenn Miller (Miller 2007: 136). Cape Town jazz musicians emerged from these dance bands. Coloured musicians mastered instrumental techniques and reading ability in the Lads' Brigade[6], the Christmas Choirs, the Army and Navy brass bands[7] (Nixon 1997: 20), but they learned the art of rhythmic phrasing and improvisation in bands that played in African townships, even when their members were self-taught and could hardly read staff notation (although many were familiars with tonic sol-fa). Pianist Moses Molelekoa (1918–), remembers weekend parties held on Saturdays in Ndabeni in the early 1930s, where pedal organs (harmoniums) played six-bar songs called *nomximfi*, presented as an antecedent of *marabi*. Later *marabi* predominated and stimulated a change in dancing styles, leading partners on the dance floor to emulate western ballroom dancing. In the 1940s, their brand of African jazz became influenced by the sound of Glenn Miller's orchestra, and the musicians, who came from many regions of South Africa, started imitating the musical colours, the smoothness and the style of soloing that made "In the Mood" so popular (Rasmussen 2003: 163–176). In the 1940s, a few leaders and members of coloured dance bands felt more strongly

attracted to jazz, and paid more attention to African jazz. In the wake of Jimmy Adams, they laid, with their African colleagues, the foundations of a jazz culture in Cape Town (Layne 1992: 134).

In the 1940s and early 1950s, when this "jazz culture" began to take shape, spatial and social segregation was not yet strictly enforced, in spite of the measures that had been adopted to separate whites, coloureds and Africans. Langa was not exclusively African and small numbers of coloureds lived there (Rasmussen 2003: 88). There were also Africans in areas inhabited by a majority of coloureds: in District Six, Kensington, Athlone, Maitland, Crawford, Retreat and Windermere (Miller 2007: 139; Rasmussen 2003: 115, 117, 243). Consequently, according to Vincent Kolbe: "From the musical point of view there was a lot of cross-overing" (quoted in Nixon 2007: 20). Coloured dance bands – following the example given by Alf Wyllie when he hired Temmy Hawker – employed African musicians in order to modernise and "jazz up" their style (Nixon 2007: 21). A few white and coloured musicians later went to Langa to absorb the energy of African bands and familiarise themselves with the type of jazz they played. Langa became a meeting place for musicians from every background since, in the 1950s, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No. 49 of 1953)[8] was not as strictly enforced as in the town centre (Miller 2007: 142). Moses Molelekoa remembers that Langa bands performed in District Six and that Indians and coloured UCT students attended concerts given by African musicians in the Cape Town City Hall; he, himself, played with coloured musicians and for white audiences (Rasmussen 2003: 170–175).

Two band leaders appear as the epitome of the intense interaction between African and coloured musicians that developed in the 1940s and 1950s: Frazer Temmy "Tem" Hawker (1909–1977) and Jimmy Adams (1929–2006). Saxophonist Tem Hawker embodies the absurdity of racial classifications and the strategies that were deployed to get around them. He was born in Beaufort West into a Xhosa family in which Afrikaans was spoken fluently, which allowed its members to be classified coloured. After moving to Cape Town, he lived in District Six, then settled in Langa where, in the 1940s, he formed his first band, Tem Hawker and His Harmony Kings, which included African and coloured musicians. In the 1950s, he played with coloured dance bands, including Alf Wyllie's, and also played for the Klopse (Rasmussen 2003: 80, 82, 165–166, 168, 236). Tem Hawker taught many Langa musicians, and with a few of them formed one of the most popular Langa big bands, the Merry Macs. His influence was such that: "Up to this day, virtually all Langa jazz musicians can claim to

be musical descendants of Tem Hawker" (Rasmussen 2003: 80). This is indeed the case of tenor saxophone player "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka (1931–), who "studied" under Tem Hawker and Joel M'Brooks Mlomo (1932–), a founding member of the Merry Macs. The Merry Macs played a kind of jazz influenced by *marabi*, American swing bands and Latin music; they also played Klopse inspired music, *vastrap* and *langarm* (Miller 2008: 2; Rasmussen 2003: 157, 159, 234). Also a saxophone player, Jimmy Adams was born in Retreat. His father was a musician who ran a Christmas Choir, a dance band and a string band. Still a teenager, he used to go to Langa and practise with Tem Hawker (Nixon 2007: 22; Rasmussen 2003: 7–8), from whom he learned not only jazz improvisation and big-band leading techniques, but also the art of re-working specific dance repertoires (in his case, *vastrap* and *langarm*) to turn them into jazz material (Layne 1992: 153). Jimmy Adams developed a form of musical multilingualism which made him not only the revered father of "coloured" jazz in Cape Town, but, according to Lami Zokufa (1931–) – who learned the guitar with Jimmy Adams and also played piano and bass – a musician who could play *marabi* "better than those musicians in the townships!" (quoted in Rasmussen 2003: 269). Jimmy Adams welcomed young white people who wanted to sit in with his orchestra: Morris Goldberg, Chris McGregor, Cecil Ricca and Maurice Gavronsky (Rasmussen 2003: 14).

A very mixed milieu

Jazz made people mix and interact. Vincent Kolbe remembered: "The only previous mixing I was aware of was in the Communist Party, but that was all quite Camps Bay, really quite elite. In '50s jazz culture, it was a different kind of thing. In the clubs there was mixing to the point of contravening the Immorality Act!" (quoted in Nixon 2007: 23). Musicians, emphasised bassist Sammy Maritz (1938–), were colour-blind (Rasmussen 2003: 133). The biographies compiled by Lars Rasmussen (Rasmussen 2003) give evidence of the intense crisscrossing that involved musicians in the 1950s. District Six was home to a great variety of people displaying a large gamut of skin colours. Langa, although an African township, welcomed coloured and white visitors. Africans played with white musicians, but in most cases white band leaders had to get permits presenting African musicians as "servants" (Rasmussen 2003: 89–90). Whites sometimes experienced problems when they wanted to go to Langa to listen to or sit in with African bands, but many musicians – such as bass player George Kussel,

drummer Cecil Ricca, trombonist Bob Tizzard, drummer Don Staegemann – ignored them, imbibed African jazz and started to experiment with modern jazz in the township. Chris McGregor was strongly connected to African musicians: he became a close friend of "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka, whom he visited frequently in Langa, even if he had to blacken his face to get there. The two of them had met on the occasion of a concert organised by the ANC (which had not yet been banned) and later the pianist would play in Nkanuka's band. He also attempted to organise a concert at the University of Cape Town featuring a big band largely drawn from the ranks of Nkanuka's orchestra; rehearsals started just after the Sharpeville massacre, in March 1960, and Africans were forbidden to leave Langa; African musicians eventually managed to reach the campus when one of the white musicians, clarinettist John Bannister, who had been drafted, went to Langa in uniform and was able to lead them through checkpoints (McGregor 1995: 16). Chris McGregor also entertained a strong musical relationship with one of the pioneers of avant-garde, "free" jazz in Cape Town, baritone saxophonist and composer Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana (1927–1993). Finally, when the Blue Notes, one of the most appreciated exponents of post-be-bop jazz in Cape Town were formed, all the members of the septet were Africans, except for Chris McGregor[9].

Saxophonist Ronnie Beer, who at times played with Chris McGregor, was also closely linked to African musicians. Coloured musicians, like whites, needed a permit to enter Langa but, like Sammy Maritz, who frequently played with pianist Tete Mbulelo Mbambisa (1942–), Ronnie Beer usually got the necessary authorisation (Rasmussen 2003: 131). They played in the African bands that performed in the town centre. For instance, Abdullah Ibrahim backed the Manhattan Brothers and played with the Tuxedo Slickers; he could play *marabi* very competently and did so in the squatter camps adjoining his native neighbourhood, Kensington (Nixon 2007: 23). Finally, it was not infrequent for African instrumentalists to join *Nagtroepe* and *langarm* bands. "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka, Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana and even Kippie Moeketsi (1925–1983), the "South African Charlie Parker" from Johannesburg, were seen in Christmas Choirs (Rasmussen 2003: 125, 182, 225, 244). Interaction between coloured and white musicians was easier and they frequently met on stage. Finally, among this group of men who contributed to making Cape Town the South African heart of jazz in the late 1950s and early 1960s, one should not forget trumpeter Lenny Lee, whose ancestry was partly Chinese but who adopted his mother's name, Tracey, in order to be classified as coloured (Rasmussen 2001: 28).

The Cape-ital of South African jazz

At the end of the 1950s a genuine "jazz culture" blossomed in Cape Town. The destruction of Sophiatown in Johannesburg and the relocation of its inhabitants, including musicians and artists, to Meadowlands (which would develop into Soweto) stifled the creative energies that had been concentrated in this relatively mixed neighbourhood. Although pockets of musical imagination, such as Dorkay House[10], survived in Johannesburg, it seems that Cape Town inherited the dynamism that modern jazz needed in order to flourish in South Africa. *Drum* magazine acknowledged the move in May 1961, when it devoted four pages to Cape Town and commented: "In the past years, the Cape has taken over as *the* place for music, snatching the laurels from the backrooms and cellars a thousand miles north in Jo'burg."[11] Jazz absorbed *langarm*, and served as a vehicle for the assertion of a new modernism, equally distant from "traditional" cultures, considered backward and outmoded, and western academism, favoured by most whites and certain segments of the black elite. The expansion of jazz in Cape Town opened a short period of musical innovation and intellectual effervescence (Layne 1992). The first models came from the swing era: big bands led by Glenn Miller, Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Tommy Dorsey, Stan Kenton and Artie Shaw were emulated, and vocal groups such as the Four Freshmen and the Hi-Lo's were imitated by musicians like Tete Mbambisa and Duke Ngcukana at the beginning of their careers (Rasmussen 2003: 141, 184). However, the advent of Cape Town as the capital of South African jazz corresponded with the discovery of modern jazz. Recordings made by Charlie Parker and the be-boppers were available in South Africa, and although their music sounded awkward to many South African jazzmen, it definitely seduced a few of them, among whom where Kippie Moeketsi in Johannesburg, saxophonist Harold Jephta and Abdullah Ibrahim in Cape Town, soon followed by "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka, Chris "Columbus" Ngcukana, Chris McGregor and pianist Lionel Pillay. Harold Jephta introduced Charlie Parker's phrasing and harmonic complexity on the saxophone, and Abdullah Ibrahim developed a style strongly influenced by Thelonius Monk. Kippie Moeketsi played in Cape Town with the Manhattan Brothers where he met Lionel Pillay and Abdullah Ibrahim. Back in Johannesburg Kippie Moeketsi, trumpeter Hugh Masekela and trombonist Jonas Gwangwa, who had worked together on several occasions (with Mackay Davashe's Jazz Dazzlers and the *King Kong* orchestra) wanted to have more opportunities of playing contemporary jazz and were looking for a pianist. They called upon Abdullah Ibrahim, who joined them in Johannesburg, and they all came back to Cape Town as a group named the

Jazz Epistles, which also included a bassist from Cape Town, Johnny Gertze, and drummer Makaya Ntshoko (Ansell 2004: 118–119). The music played by the Jazz Epistles sparked off a period of creative effervescence whose main protagonists were musicians associated with Abdullah Ibrahim and Chris McGregor, whose respective musical itineraries illustrate the diversity of the paths that led to the invention of South African modern jazz.

Abdullah Ibrahim's urban mix

Abdullah Ibrahim[12] ("Dollar" Brand) was born in 1934 and grew up in Kensington, a predominantly coloured neighbourhood located on the outskirts of central Cape Town. His mother played piano in the local Methodist church founded by his grandmother and affiliated to the African American African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), a church known for the central role music plays in the service and for the quality of its choirs' and congregations' singing. Young Dollar Brand sang in his grandmother and mother's church choir. He was also trained in the "light classics" but soon became fascinated with American jazz. His nickname "Dollar" is said to have been given to him by African-American sailors with whom he used to mingle. While in high school, he started playing in a dance band that performed jazz arrangements borrowed from Erskine Hawkins' American swing orchestra, but also square dances, waltzes and fox trots. He became a professional musician in 1949 and played with local bands such as the Tuxedo Slickers and the Willie Max Big Band. He also played in Klopse orchestras and was exposed to *marabi*. He discovered American jazz at a young age and was particularly impressed by Duke Ellington; later he heard recordings by Charlie Parker and Thelonius Monk, and began to fashion his own style based on them. By the end of the 1950s, Abdullah Ibrahim was a young, extremely talented pianist, although he was also somewhat eccentric and uncompromising, intent on performing exclusively his own music and refusing to play in night clubs. His piano style clearly derives from Duke Ellington and Thelonius Monk, and evokes American pianists of the same lineage – who actually may not have been very well-known in South Africa at the time – such as Randy Weston and Mal Waldron. Abdullah Ibrahim "[…] characteristically experimented with harmonic and rhythmic dissonance, unpredictable phrasing, piano colour and contrasting register" (Lucia 2002: 126). His compositions fuse with an exceptional ingenuity all the musics he heard when growing up in Cape Town: dance music, Klopse music, hymns, *marabi*, all amalgamated in a personal jazz language conveying a sense of original modernity, and yet rooted in the particular chord progressions of Methodist

Dollar Brand/Abdullah Ibrahim, who re-invented South African jazz several times.

hymnody (Lucia 2002; Mason 2007). In 1957, the cast of *King Kong*, the musical, spent several months in Cape Town. Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa and Kippie Moeketsi played in the orchestra that was backing the show. Chris McGregor took advantage of their presence in the Mother City to organise lunchtime concerts at the UCT College of Music (McGregor 1995: 13); it is probably during their stay in Cape Town that first contact was made between Abdullah Ibrahim and Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa and Kippie Moeketsi, a contact that led to the formation of the Jazz Epistles and to the 1959 recording of an album, *Verse 1*, which sounded like a manifesto of South African modern jazz[13]. The Epistles' experience was short lived. While Kippie Moeketsi stayed in Johannesburg, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa left for London with the *King Kong* crew and decided not to come back to South Africa after the Sharpeville shootings of 21 March 1960. Abdullah Ibrahim eventually went to Zurich, Switzerland, in 1962. Later he explained: "When Sharpeville occurred, it became clear that it was impossible to do anything creative in South Africa; you were completely limited. Either you towed the government line or you left, or you quit."[14] He consequently decided to leave, and with him went the Epistles' rhythm section, Johnny Gertze and Makaya Ntshoko, as well as a young Cape Town singer he had met in 1959 and whom he would marry in exile, Sathima Bea Benjamin.

Abdullah Ibrahim's musical universe was essentially urban. His imagination drew on the full Cape Town soundscape, which he seems to have put in the foreground more explicitly in private performances than in public, where he played more straightforward "jazz" even if in a very personal way (Mason 2007: 27), but to which he would come back more and more intensely in exile. Sathima Bea Benjamin added to the musics he had been exposed to during his childhood her own baggage of British songs and American musicals' successes, and her knowledge of Mozambique and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), where she had performed with Jimmy Adams. This contributed to broadening Adbullah Ibrahim's possible sources of inspiration (Rasmussen 2000).

Chris McGregor[15]: Rural South Africa and classical Europe mediated by jazz

Chris McGregor (1936–1990) was born in Somerset West, about 50 kilometres south-east of Cape Town, but grew up in Blythswood, Transkei, where his father ran a school founded by the Scottish Missionary Society. There were very few white people around; his first language was isiXhosa and the first musics he heard were missionary hymns and responsorial songs with overlapping entries typical of Xhosa vocal polyphonies. During the war, his father joined the Navy and Chris

Mongezi Feza and Dudu Pukwana, explosive frontline of the Blue Notes and the Brotherhood of Breath.

McGregor spent some time in Cape Town with his mother. It is during his stay in Cape Town that he had his first piano lessons, and also discovered army marching bands. Back in the Transkei, he continued his musical education in Umtata, where he was exposed to *mbaqanga* and *kwela*, as well as to the voices of the Ink Spots, the Mills Brothers and Nat King Cole. In his early teens, Chris McGregor occasionally joined a coloured dance band and formed a vocal group with a few Umtata high school friends. In 1956, he won a scholarship for the UCT College of Music, where he studied with, among others, Arnold van Wyk. He enjoyed playing Claude Debussy, Béla Bartók, Anton Webern and gave the first South African performance of Arnold Schoenberg's *Piano Stuck*, Opus 33a. At the same time, he listened eagerly to Abdullah Ibrahim, who played at the Ambassadors School of Dancing (Woodstock), from whom, as he would acknowledge later, he learned a lot (McGregor 1995: 38) and began to play jazz himself in a university group.

At the end of the 1950s, he linked up with musicians like "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka, Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana, bassist Martin Mgijima, as well as with trombonist David Galloway and drummer Donald Staegemann. He played with these musicians at the Ambassadors School of Dancing and sat at the piano in "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka's dance band, with whom he performed in Langa,

Athlone, Gugulethu and Simonstown. In 1959, Chris McGregor and his group were invited to play for the launch of the Langa Women's Cultural Group; the programme also featured Tete Mbambisa's vocal group, the Four Yanks, which included Nikele Moyake, and was accompanied by a young pianist from Port Elizabeth, Dudu Pukwana. Both also played the saxophone. Dudu Pukwana remained in Cape Town to join Chris McGregor's group; his mentor, Nikele Moyake would later become the tenorist with the Blue Notes (Devroop & Walton 2007: 97–100; McGregor 1995: 21; Rasmussen 2001: 77). In 1961, after a few experiments with a big band associating musicians from "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka's orchestra and UCT students, Chris McGregor stopped attending courses at the College of Music, where he found that what he was taught was too disconnected from what he was experiencing in Cape Town, both as a person and as a musician. He played at the Vortex club in Long Street, Cape Town, and teamed up with Stanley Glasser to write the music for a musical, *Mr Paljas*[16]. In 1962, Chris McGregor took a septet[17] to the Castle Lager Jazz Festival, held at the Moroka Jabavu Stadium, Soweto, where Dudu Pukwana and his Quintet were also playing, along with Tete's Mbambisa's Jazz Giants, with Nikele Moyake, "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka's Jazz Ambassadors, with Louis Moholo, a drummer from Langa, and Eric Nomvete's group with a very young trumpet player from Queenstown, Mongezi Feza. The 1962 Jazz Festival, therefore, hosted the encounter of the future Blue Notes, although they appeared on stage with different formations.

In September 1963, after having spent most of his time in Johannesburg, playing, living, occasionally teaching at Dorkay House, and participating in jam sessions in African townships, Chris McGregor presented the Blue Notes at the Cold Castle Moroka Jabavu Jazz Festival. The group included Mongezi Feza, Dudu Pukwana and Nikele Moyake along with bassist Sammy Maritz and drummer Early Mabuza, and its name was deliberately coined "[…] in order to have an anonymous name so that the publicity would be possible without attracting attention to the fact that it was a mixed-race group, but one that would convey that it was jazz they were playing" (McGregor 1995: 25). The Castle beer company agreed to sponsor a big band composed of the best musicians heard at the Festival, among whom would feature the members of the Blue Notes, to play arrangements by Chris McGregor. The band was scheduled to perform in African townships, but Maxine Lautré, Chris' future wife, decided to organise an additional concert in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Sammy Maritz and Early Mabuza had not shown up when the curtain was due to rise. Johnny Dyani – a

bass player from East London who had been working with Tete Mbambisa and Eric Nomvete – and Louis Moholo, both of whom attended the rehearsals, filled in for them, and from then on would provide the rhythm section for the Blue Notes (McGregor 1995: 33–40)[18]. The combination began to enjoy great popularity with jazz aficionados, but as a "racially" mixed group, they were confronted with many difficulties. They started a tour of South Africa which allowed them to move rapidly from one place to another and somehow turn around problems, as well as to try and make money to buy air tickets to Europe. Chris McGregor explained later how they proceeded when they were stopped at roadblocks: "[…] usually we were not actually breaking the law. To the extent that we were on the road, it was almost like we were 1 000 feet up. We only came down to earth when there was a roadblock, and then we pretended we were a gang of labourers with a captain. We had some well-rehearsed routines: I became the boss and these were my boys and we were on our way to fulfil a contract somewhere" (quoted in McGregor 1995: 69). Their efforts to get round segregationist laws and escape police harassment became increasingly difficult for a non-racial group such as the Blue Notes. Despite this, they managed to get passports, buy plane tickets and, on 24 July 1964, to appear on the stage of the Antibes-Juan-les-Pins jazz festival, and, after the festival, caused quite a sensation, playing through the evenings at the Pam Pam Café.

Chris McGregor's music was an unusual blend of western "classical" music, Xhosa rural music, Ellingtonian and post-be-bop jazz illuminated by Abdullah Ibrahim. His early arrangements bear the mark of Ellington, but an attentive listener can detect an attempt at using Ellingtonian voicings on structures influenced by the staggered cycles of Nguni polyphonies and *marabi* chord progression (Coplan 2008: 432–437). This combination allowed him to make the best of the musicians he wrote for, be it in a sextet or in a big band, and to create rich sonic textures that could be at the same time energetic and luscious. His roots were in Transkei and, when he settled in Cape Town, he carried with him the sounds of rural villages[19]. In Cape Town, he associated with musicians of every origin, with whom he established a close comradeship which – although his motivations were basically musical – was tantamount to a political statement.

Chris McGregor participated in anti-apartheid actions: he played with David Galloway at a private gig for the Mandela Treason Trial Fund (Devroop & Walton 2007: 123), he marched against restrictions to the admission of black students at university, and taught evening classes for Africans and coloureds (McGregor 1995: 7–12). Chris McGregor embodies the Eastern Cape–Cape Town connection, as

well as the cross-fertilisation of European, American and South African traditions. This is why Pallo Jordan[20] considered that: "Playing with the likes of 'Mra' [Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana], Kippie [Moeketsi], Cups and Saucers [Nkanuka], Dudu [Pukwana], [Winston] Mankunku, Johnny Gertze and McKay Davashe had helped him to grow from a callow emulator of Bud Powell into a definitively South African pianist, partaking and contributing to the melting pot of its evolving culture" (Jordan 1988: 6). This opinion was shared by the then University of Natal Professor and South African jazz expert Christopher Ballantine: "McGregor is the only white performer who has actually crossed over and become truly South Africanised. His bands are among the few who have achieved a real fusion of the multiple musics which represent what South Africa is and might be […]" (quoted in McGregor 1995: 62).

Repression and censorship

In the days of Abdullah Ibrahim and Chris McGregor, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, jazz was thriving in Cape Town[21]. Not only was there a constellation of talented musicians – born in the city and in its peripheral neighbourhoods or coming from other regions of South Africa, and especially from the Eastern Cape – but they found many places where they could give their music exposure and interact with other musicians without any regard for "racial" segregation. Before the destruction of District Six, there was the Wintergarden Hall in Ayre Street and the Zambezi in Upper Darling Street, which was owned by Abie Hurzuk whose family hailed from Bombay[22]. In Woodstock, the Naaz, in Lower Main Street, welcomed university students; also in Woodstock was the Ambassadors School of Dancing, a place welcoming musical experimentation (Muller 2008: 192–193) where, remembered photographer Hardy Stockmann: "The bands and audience were composed of black and white and anything in between, mingling freely like nowhere else in the land" (quoted in Rasmussen 2001: 112). In the City Bowl, the Vortex, in Long Street came to be considered the "home of jazz"; the Mermaid, in Three Anchor Bay, near Green Point, accepted all music lovers; also in Green Point, the Weizmann Hall, which was owned by the Jewish community, staged jazz concerts for mixed audiences; later, Club 62 remained multiracial but avoided anything that may have looked political (Layne 1992: 89). In the early 1960s the mix on which jazz was based, which was displayed on stage as well as on the floors of clubs and concert halls, became less and less tolerable in the eyes of the apartheid authorities. Clubs fell victim to police harassment and most of

them had to close down. This is one of the reasons why several musicians decided to leave South Africa: "We had a nice club scene, with no pressure from the colour bar for two years. Then gradually these places were closed down. The police didn't like them and things got very unpleasant. So we decided to go," explained Chris McGregor (quoted in Rasmussen 2001: 51).

The early 1960s were indeed a watershed in South Africa's history. Many racist laws had been passed after the National Party came to power in 1948, but they were not systematically implemented and in the 1950s it was still possible to fight their arbitrariness in court. This decade was a time of struggles, culminating in the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People gathered at Kliptown, Soweto, on 26 June 1955[23]. The government fought back by arresting 156 anti-apartheid activists, and charging them with "high treason", but was finally defeated when they were acquitted in 1961. In the meantime, on 21 March 1960, the police had opened fire on a crowd protesting against pass laws, and killed 69 people. Following these events, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress were banned. Finally, on 11 July 1963, 19 leaders of the ANC were arrested during an underground meeting held on a farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg. After almost a year of hearings in court, eight of them, among whom were Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were given life sentences. After 1963, the implementation of apartheid laws was accelerated and hardened, the aggravation of repression had dramatic implications for music-making in general and jazz playing in particular. Tony McGregor attempted to list the laws and regulations that affected musicians directly or indirectly: "[…] the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No. 49 of 1953); the Native Laws Amendment Act (No. 36 of 1957); the Group Areas Amendment Act (No. 57 of 1957) (this Act was used by some white musicians to prevent black musicians from competing with them); [… and] countless proclamations designed to reduce interaction between people of different races. For example, proclamation R26 of 1965 was to the effect that 'no racially disqualified person may attend any place of public entertainment, or partake of any refreshments ordinarily involving the use of seating accommodation as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tea-room or eating house, or as a member of or as a guest in any club'. As a somewhat cruel aside, bona fide domestic workers could be in such places as they were specifically excluded from the definition of 'racially disqualified persons'. So the clubs and restaurants could be kept clean without whites having to get their hands dirty!"[24] In addition to the texts mentioned above, the Liquor Act Amendment 1962 forbade Africans to patronise places where alcoholic beverages were sold, which made it difficult to

accommodate mixed audiences in clubs (Miller 2007: 146).

As far as musicians were concerned, the strict implementation of existing or new rules was compounded by the reorganisation of the South African broadcasting system. The policy of "separate development" designed by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd at the end of the 1950s implied that the different "population groups" were to be offered specific radio programmes. A revised Broadcast Act was passed in 1960, which created a Bantu Programme Control Board and planned an expansion of radio services for Africans. On 1 January 1962, Radio Bantu, incorporating Radio Zulu, Radio Sesotho, Radio Lebowa, Radio Tswana, Radio Xhosa was launched, to which Radio Venda/Tsonga was added in 1965. By the end of the 1960s Radio Bantu broadcast in seven languages on full-day schedules. The creation of radio stations aimed at particular language groups was coherent with the larger scheme of separate development and the ultimate goal of fabricating supposedly independent African states within the boundaries of South Africa. It gave the government the propaganda tool it wanted; it also meant a particular treatment of music on the airwaves. To be judged "acceptable" for Radio Bantu music had to be ideologically correct and comply with Christian ideals, reflect a positive view of South Africa, and uphold the culture of the targeted "tribal" group. In addition to the Publications Committee, stations had their own Review Boards that were in charge of assessing whether or not a piece of music could be put on the air. Broadly speaking, three genres were favoured by Radio Bantu: what was supposed to be "tribal" music, choral music, and popular music; under the latter, a form of standardised and emasculated *mbaqanga* was manufactured with the collaboration of the main recording companies. Jazz was clearly unfit for the SABC and Radio Bantu (Hamm 1991) and many recordings of South African jazz made before were removed from the SABC's archives and destroyed (Muller 2008: 162).

Life was particularly difficult for African musicians, even before the 1960s. Music was not considered a profession: "In South Africa, it was impossible to survive making music; music was considered as less than nothing. If you hadn't a job as a manual worker or servant and you said you played drums, they would put you in prison and send you to work in the potato fields," Louis Moholo told French journalist Gérard Rouy (quoted in McGregor 1995: 30[25]). The condition of black musicians was made even more difficult by the Cape Musicians Association, a white union that endeavoured to prevent the employment of non-white musicians (Layne 1992: 87). In the eyes of trombonist Dave Galloway, apartheid "[…] slowed everything down. It interrupted the natural, evolutional flow of the art form. And it seriously polarised musicians who might otherwise have been more

cooperative towards one another. You see, the blinkered Calvinists viewed jazz as a threat to their hegemony; they were not big on personal self-expression in the first place, and the fact that *anderskleuriges* [people of other colours] were involved in the performing arts scared the shit out of them. We lived in a very paranoid society back then, and a very unnatural one" (quoted in Devroop & Walton 2007: 123). One of the consequences was that, for a time, jazz sessions took place in private homes rather than in cafés, clubs and concert halls. "Cliffie Moses' home in Mowbray, Kenny Jephta's garage in Kensington, and numerous other private dwellings became a world apart for musicians of different colour to meet and express themselves through music" (Miller 2007: 142). In public places, musicians were permanently threatened. For instance, when pianist Tony Schilder was backed by a white drummer, the police told the latter to take his drum and sit on the dance floor (Devroop & Walton 2007: 87). When saxophonist David Mankunku Ngozi played with a white band at the Weizmann Hall, he was compelled to blow his horn behind a curtain because of the Separate Amenities Act; singer Donald Tshomela was asked by the management of the Waldorf Hotel, where he entertained guests, to wear a waiter's jacket to legitimise his presence there. A few light-skinned coloured musicians managed to pass for white: pianist Henry February, bassist Brian Eggleson; on occasions, pianist Richard Schilder was presented as a recent immigrant from Hungary (Miller 2007: 141). Guitarist Cliffie Moses confided to Colin Miller that his band, the Four Sounds, played for ten years at the Three Cellars, and that they were never allowed to eat in the restaurant, but had their meals served in the kitchen (Miller 2007: 140). The ridiculous aspects of these incidents must not hide the violence and humiliation that underlay them, and that musicians also experienced in their dealings with the radio.

The division of the SABC into separate programmes organised on the basis of language groups allowed no space for cross-overs. Recordings by artists like Steve Kenana and Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse were played on Radio Bantu and could not access the waves of Radio 5[26], in spite of their success with audiences that were far from being exclusively African (Abrahams 2003: 22). On the other hand, Radio Bantu refused to play Juluka's records because it considered their productions "an insult to the Zulu and their culture" (Abrahams 2003: 23). In Cape Town, pianist Tony Schilder could only play during coloured programmes, and then could not bring the white bassist who used to accompany him; when he was invited to appear in a white programme, on Sunday mornings at 7 o'clock, he had to change his name to Toni Evans (Devroop & Walton 2007: 88). Similarly, after television was

finally launched in South Africa, Lionel Pillay, a pianist of Indian descent, had to use the pseudonym Lionel Martin, to appear on SABC TV[27], and the director of the programme made sure that his face was never shown (Devroop & Walton 2007: 4).

The large record companies abode by the regulations prescribed by the SABC, on which their sales were largely dependant; they associated certain genres with certain "population groups". According to this distribution, coloured musicians were categorised as dance musicians and were not allowed to record jazz (Miller 2007: 143). When Jimmy Adams tried to record an "African" piece with his band, Gallo refused (Rasmussen 2003: 9). Faced with so many difficulties, several musicians who did not want to or could not go into exile decided to stop playing music altogether. That was the case, for instance, of saxophonist Basil Coetzee who worked in a shoe factory in the 1970s and early 1980s. Tony Schilder worked for a long time as a diamond setter, a regular job that protected him from the hazards of the musical profession (Devroop & Walton 2007: 84). Others went into pop and rock: saxophone player Ezra Ngcukana remembered that there was a time when he "[…] had to play in rock and roll bands to earn a living; it was horrible" (quoted in Mason 2007: 28).

Exile

"There were many of these brave men and women who left their homes and their country rather than submit to the perversion of their art by a perverse, inhuman ideology"[28] wrote South African jazz expert Tony McGregor, the brother of exile Chris McGregor. All testimonies collected among musicians who decided to leave South Africa indicate how painful that experience was. Not only, maybe even not primarily because, at the beginning at least, they had to endure difficult material conditions, but because of the feeling of uprooting and homelessness they felt. Abdullah Ibrahim confided that dreaming was especially heartbreaking because he always dreamt of home[29]. Louis Moholo, the only survivor of the Blue Notes to see the advent of post-apartheid South Africa, concurred: "To be an exile, it's already horrible. People are totally ignorant of your way of life, which is different. That makes establishing relationships between them and you difficult. I have the feeling that I am being raped – in the exact meaning of the word – and I'm sure that Dudu [Pukwana] feels the same […] There are times when people can tell me anything, even a joke, I'm going to give it a particular interpretation in my head."[30]

South African musicians who settled in Europe and North America contributed

significantly to the evolution of jazz and improvised music on these continents to an extent that may not always be clearly perceived in South Africa. In addition to, among others, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, who made popular what would have been called *marabi*, African Jazz or jive in South Africa, saxophonist Harold Jephta in Sweden and guitarist and singer Jonathan Butler in the United States brought an original tone to, respectively, jazz and popular music. Abdullah Ibrahim and the Blue Notes participated in the musical upheaval that transformed jazz in the 1960s and 1970s. They brought new colours, new flavours, new conceptions of sounds, harmonies and rhythms to the places where they played and interacted with local musicians, and also particular aspirations to freedom that could be translated into music and understood by non-South Africans in a period when the experiments of "free" jazz were thriving[31]. Their contribution was primarily musical, but it also had political implications because their music, and often what they said about their music and its origins, aroused an interest in South Africa, and facilitated the understanding of what was really happening there.

Exile also transformed the music produced by South Africans, not so much because they were exposed to ways of playing and understanding jazz of which they were largely ignorant, but because exile forced them to reassess the South African-ness of their music, to rediscover the idiosyncrasies that underpinned their approach to music and led them to unveil its specificity. Writer Alex la Guma considered that the kind of modern jazz that was played in Cape Town at the end of the 1960s was very similar to what was then coming from the United States. Recordings made at that time, as well as albums published just after the arrival of South African musicians in Europe, confirm it: the adoption and development of be-bop and post-be-bop jazz had created a gap between jazz-inspired South African popular music (*marabi*, *mbaqanga*, African jazz, jive, etc.) and the modern sounds emanating from the likes of the Jazz Epistles and the Blue Notes[32]. Morris Goldberg, who went to New York, explains that: "The awareness of what we had indigenously came slowly when I was here" (quoted in Mason 2007: 29), an experience shared by most exiles. The combination of staggered cycles with overlapping entries which was roughly sketched by Chris McGregor in his arrangement of Kippie Moeketsi's "Switch"[33] became one of the trade marks of the successive big bands he led in Europe under the name Brotherhood of Breath. The subtle left-hand moves Abdullah Ibrahim used to suggest a *ghoema* beat became easily identifiable in his piano playing, while carnival music and *marabi* surfaced in the voicings of groups he called *Ekaya* ["at home" in isiXhosa]. Following a

concert Abdullah Ibrahim gave in 1967 at Carnegie Hall, New York, he explained: "Everything flooded back. I played through District Six, up Hanover Street, Doug Arendse's little place in Caledon Street, the Coon Carnival, Windermere, children's songs, up Table Mountain, through the hills of Pondoland, my mother, father, sisters, brothers – everything."[34]

The fertilisation of European improvised music by South African rhythms and sound textures achieved by Mongezi Feza, Dudu Pukwana, Chris McGregor, Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo was almost totally ignored in South Africa before 1990, and have not been given great exposure since. Only Louis Moholo has been able to come back to his motherland[35] with his group, Viva la Black, and perform there with other musicians so that the innovations derived from his European experience could be heard by South African jazz lovers. Abdullah Ibrahim continued to visit South Africa for several years, to play and record in his home country. But, after the Soweto rebellion of 1976, he decided to declare openly his support for the ANC[36], knowingly accepting that he would not be allowed to come back before the country was freed from apartheid: "At the time [before 1976], he explained to French journalist Gérard Rouy, we thought that it was better not to make any political statement so that we could freely enter and exit the country. Then there was the 1976 upheaval and it became obvious that the struggle was the only solution […] This is why in 1976 we decided to make public our political position, which implied that we will not be able to come back before liberation."[37]

Renaissance

In the recordings made by Abdullah Ibrahim between 1962 and 1976, one can discern two aspects. When his music is intended for the European and American markets, he appears fully immersed in the currents that agitate the modern jazz scene, to the point that he is sometimes considered abstract and abstruse; when he aims at the South African public, he dwells on *marabi*, swing, dance music, carnival music, blues, hymns, gospel, even incorporating "gestures from Sufi traditions". According to musicologist Christine Lucia, the creation he elaborated from this particular mixture generated among his listeners a sense of time which was not only musical but induced a meaningful rapport between the past and the future of South Africa. For Lucia, the music Abdullah Ibrahim invented through the re-appropriation of his Capetonian and South African roots and their transmutation into a musical language that was unheard of, almost unthinkable, in the late 1960s

and early 1970s, "[…] feeds off an immense sense of loss – reaching back into the past through denotations of tropes such as the hymn, gospel, spiritual, slavery, the church, the blues, motherhood – but it is not merely a familiar tune used in a communal context (not merely 'Abide with Me' sung at soccer matches); it is a familiar generic type: hymn-blues. This allows it the freedom to become a site for imagining the utopian dream of South Africa after apartheid, to be part of the future" (Lucia 2002: 138). This music, bridging the past and the future, was to have an enormous impact in South Africa.

This understanding of the role of music converged with the concerns of musicians who stayed in South Africa. During the same period, reckons Basil Coetzee, "we started looking to Africa"[38]. In Cape Town, local music generated a new interest: "Those who remained resisted the system by creating alternative venues where black and white musicians and audiences could meet. These were mainly away from the watchful eye of the regime and in the predominantly black areas, like District Six, Woodstock, Maitland, Elsies River and Langa. Within this setting, musicians developed hybrid forms of jazz […] *Klopse* discovered *marabi*, *ghoema* embraced *mbaqanga* and jazz comfortably kept it all together! The rich musical environment of Cape Town in which these musicians grew up provided ample material for a creative process to occur. By marrying these sounds and presenting them in a jazz idiom, the musicians found an appropriate voice to articulate their aspirations. The translation of their oppressed experiences into hybrid forms of music was itself the greatest challenge to policies of separate development" (Miller 2007: 146). In spite of the difficulties musicians encountered when they wanted to move around, to play together in public, to perform music that did not respect the limitations the government, the radio and the recording industry strove to impose, jazz in Cape Town survived the trials of the early 1960s. In July 1968, the magazine *Drum* could print: "Cape jazz on the upbeat" (Miller 2007: 143) and Kensington was swinging (Ndzuta 2007: 20; Rasmussen 2003: 252). In the 1970s, more or less informal jam sessions were organised at several venues, although police harassment did not abate: The Four Sounds (with guitarist Cliffie Moses and bassist Basil Moses) played at the Beverley in Athlone, St Francis Hall in Langa was a haven for musicians and, later, the Galaxy in Rylands offered a stage to groups like Pacific Express or Workforce (Ndzuta 2007: 20). According to guitarist Alvin Dyers, after all, the 1970s and 1980s were a good time for both music and musicians who continued to mix irrespective of skin colour and official classifications (Ndzuta 2007: 21).

The sign that repression could not totally suffocate jazz creation came in 1968, when saxophonist Winston Mankunku Ngozi recorded a piece titled

"*Yakhal'Inkomo*" (The bellowing bull). Evoking a bull that mourns the loss of another, it became a gold record in a month and was re-issued several times. It was well received because the music was extremely powerful, and because it was understood as a "deep and painful cry" (Galane 2008: 249) that echoed and amplified the wail of black people. Winston Mankunku told Gwen Ansell what he had in mind when he conceived this piece: "'*Yakhal'Inkomo*' was an odd tune. Things were tough then – but don't ask me about all that, I don't want to discuss it. You had to have a pass; you got thrown out; the police would stop you, you know? I was about 22. I threw my pass away; wouldn't carry it. We had it tough. I was always being arrested and a lot of my friends and I thought it was too tough for black people and put that into the song. So it was 'The bellowing bull': for the black man's pain" (quoted in Ansell 2004: 132). Winston Mankunku Ngozi continued to play his music through the 1970s and 1980s, in the company of African, coloured and white musicians (especially pianist Mike Perry)[39].

1968 was also the year when Dollar Brand came back to South Africa, converted to Islam and chose the name Abdullah Ibrahim. In a series of articles published in *The Cape Herald*, he explained how he felt about South Africa and Cape Town, and how he intended to reconnect his music with "[…] virtually the entire musical universe of coloureds and Africans: the jazz of Kippie Moeketsi, the *ghoema* beat and minstrel tunes of the Coon Carnival, 'Shangaan and Venda and Pedi' folk songs, the Malay choirs of Cape Town's coloured Muslims […]" (Mason 2007: 29). Back in New York, he started working on new compositions based on his new conceptions.

Abdullah Ibrahim came back to South Africa several times in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Rashid Vally, who owned a shop, the Kohinoor, on Market Street, Johannesburg, was a real treasure trunk overflowing with jazz records and who also managed an independent recording company, As Shams/The Sun, asked him to do a few albums on his label (Rasmussen 2000: 63–65). In 1971, Rashid Vally recorded *Dollar Brand + 2*[40] and *Dollar Brand + 3*[41]. In 1974, Abdullah Ibrahim went into the Gallo studios in Johannesburg with a group of young Capetonians known as Oswietie[42], who usually played danceable covers of English and American tunes in a rocky way. They recorded *Underground in Africa*, produced by Rashid Vally and published on the Mandla label. The album was quite well received; it definitely sounded South African, but in a fuzzy way: "Kalahari" was a long evocation of the desert in a modal, Milesdavisian manner, not without a tinge of exoticism, but "All Day & All Night Long", with its rocky rhythm discreetly incorporating the *ghoema* beat, was more audibly related to Cape Town's musics (Ansell 2004: 151; Mason 2007: 34). Apart from the subtle outcrop of the *ghoema* beat in one of the

tracks, *Underground in Africa* was important because it marked the beginning of a long-lasting collaboration between Abdullah Ibrahim and saxophonists Robbie Jansen and Basil Coeztee. In June 1974, Adbullah Ibrahim, Robbie Jansen and Basil Coetzee met again in the UCA studios in Cape Town, with bassist Paul Michaels and drummer Monty Weber, and also Morris Goldberg, who was visiting at the time and was not credited on the cover of the first editions of the album that resulted from this session. They recorded several pieces and eventually rapidly put together what was to become a landmark in the history of South African jazz under apartheid: "Mannenberg". A synthesis of South African popular musics, the album *Mannenberg: Is Where It's Happening*[43] immediately sold like hot cakes, so much so that Gallo finally accepted to distribute it. It offered an "[…] intriguing combination of familiar ingredients – the groove was *marabi*, the beat resembled *ticky-draai* (or perhaps, a lazy *ghoema*, depending on who was listening), the sound of the saxophones was *langarm*, and the underlying aesthetic was jazz […]. Its unique combination of musical vocabularies and idioms, rooted in South Africa, yet aware of international trends, helped to make it 'the most iconic' [Ansell 2004: 153] composition in South Africa jazz history" (Mason 2007: 32). It rapidly became an emblem not only of the Cape Town coloured communities, but of all the victims of apartheid who, having heard the message of the Black Consciousness Movement, looked for creations that could make them proud. Energised by Basil Coetzee's solo (which gained him the nickname "Mannenberg"), "Mannenberg" was used in the 1980s during anti-apartheid meetings as an anthem of sorts. Randal Abrahams, who worked for the community Bush Radio and the SABC, remembered: "For me, the most South African thing about the whole experience is the short, terse phrase: '*Julle kan maar New York toe gaan maar ons bly hier in die Manenberg*' (You can go to New York but we will stay here in Manenberg) […]. When it was performed at the Luxurama Theatre in Wynberg at the height of the school boycotts during the 1980s, it spoke to the experience of living in an area created by the apartheid regime but refusing to allow any form of oppression to break the collective spirit and will of the people" (Abrahams 2003: 11).

The Time of Fusions

In the 1980s, there were jam sessions at the Villa Review, Athlone, and Five-to-Four on Landsdowne Road, which supplemented the regular programmes offered by the Base in the city, the Goldfinger in Athlone, or the Landrost Hotel in Landsdowne where be-bop, jazz-rock and fusion could be heard. Pianist Tony

Schilder, who belonged to a large family of talented musicians, opened the club Montreal, in Manenberg, which for several years served as a the rallying place for jazz musicians in Cape Town (Ndzuta 2007: 20–21, 79). Jazz was still alive, but the collaboration between Abdullah Ibrahim and Oswietie[44] indicated that the frontier between jazz and popular music was fading away. As a matter of fact, in the late 1970s and the 1980s musicians experimented with various kinds of fusions, inspired by the rock, jazz-rock and jazz-fusion styles that were highly successful in the United States.

South African integrations

South Africa after the Soweto uprisings of 1976 witnessed an explosion of musical fusions. Abdullah Ibrahim had shown that *marabi*, *ghoema* and other genres of early 20th century South African music could be re-inserted into modern productions to rekindle a political imagination able to rely on past experiences in order to build a future. Other musicians, who had the opportunity of visiting Rhodesia, where the music scene was open to artists from other African countries who were not allowed in South Africa, discovered the existence of various genres of African modern music. Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse remembered that when he began playing in the late 1960s he was not interested in the type of South African music that was available on records or played on the radio. *Mbaqanga* and *isicathamiya* sounded too unsophisticated to his educated, urban ears. He could only relate to international pop or rock groups broadcast on Radio 5. In the early 1970s he played in a combo that called themselves the Beaters, a transparent allusion to the Beatles. Their music was a blend of pop and rock, with a lot of African-American soul music. The Black Consciousness Movement contributed to the identification with soul music, which was associated with the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. When invited to play in Salisbury [the colonial name of Harare] in 1976, the Beaters had the opportunity of hearing the type of rumba played by Zairian musicians. It was a revelation: they realised that modern and urban music could be genuinely African. On their return to South Africa, they changed their name to Harari [at the time an African suburb of Salisbury] and started to "Africanise" their music[45]. 1976 was also the year Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu formed Juluka, but the difference was that Harari, and other South African fusion groups, drew their inspiration from urban, modern, commercialised music and looked to the United States, and especially to African-American music, rather than to British rock. In other words, fusion groups appeared as the continuators of a form of South African popular music permeated by a cluster of African-American

music: jazz, gospel, rhythm and blues and soul music. The musical trajectories of musicians such as Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse, or saxophonist Khaya Mahlangu, who was part of Harari before he became a renowned jazzman, confirmed that the frontier between popular music and jazz had again been erased.

In 1981, Khaya Mahlangu formed another group, Sakhile, with bass guitar virtuoso Sipho Gumede. The name Sakhile means "we have built"[46], intimating that they had constructed a musical edifice from various material and that their work provided a place to ponder the future. According to Khaya Mahlangu: "Our concept primarily consists of different styles which come from different cultures with emphasis on indigenous music. At the time [of Sakhile's formation], there were not many people who were giving local music a broader expression with a universal flavour."[47] Other groups experimenting with the fusion of different musical ingredients included Bayete, who had a hit in 1984 with "Shosholoza", Sankomota (originally from Lesotho), Spirits Rejoice, Mango Groove and Winston Jive's Mix Up. The latter two, formed during the second half of the 1980s, embodied a renewal of interest for 1950s South African music, jive and *kwela*; they reinserted in a modern language elements from musics whose memories evoked times of multiracial resistance against the implementation of apartheid. Christopher Ballantine aptly underlined that "[b]ands such as Sakhile, Bayete, and Johnny Clegg's Savuka – as well as countless others, many of them less well known – played music in which the blend might be *mbaqanga* with traditional Nguni song; Cape Coloured *klopse* idioms with be-bop; *marabi* with electronic rock; Zulu guitar style with Cape Malay *ghommaliedjies*; or many other permutations. It is what these integrations discovered and made possible that was exciting and important, for, like their audiences, the bands where wholly non-racial, rejecting in their behaviour and commitment, centuries of racial and class dichotomy. Their music was an alchemy, helping, in its way, to corrode the old social order and to liberate the new" (Ballantine 1989: 310).

Cape Town's fusions

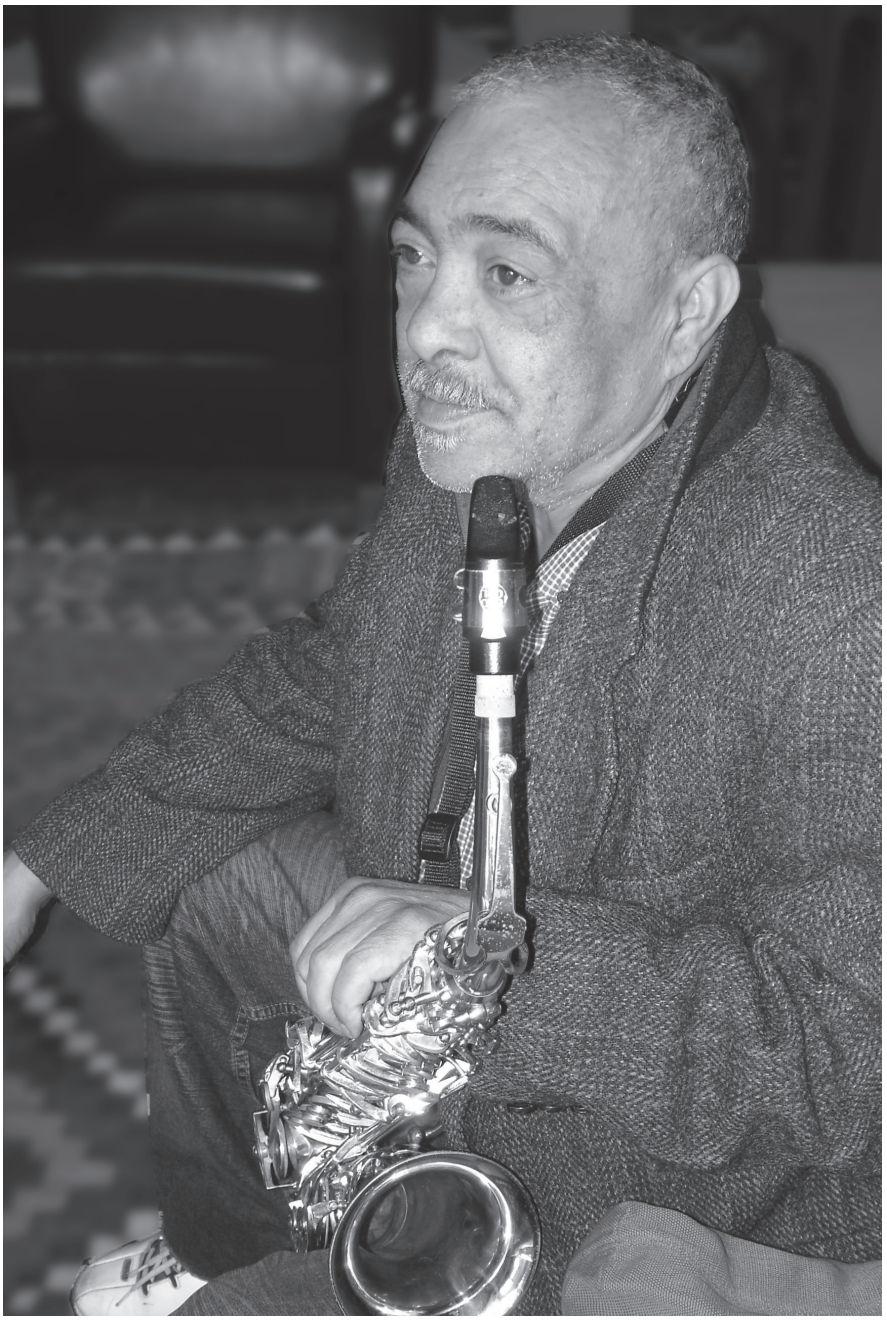
The forerunner of the fusion movement in Cape Town appears to have been the Crusaders, a band led by trumpeter Temba Ngwenya, which featured pianist Roger Koza, and offered an early version of Afro-jazz, mixing jazz, *mbaqanga* and *langarm* (Rasmussen 2003: 117). Pacific Express, launched in the 1960s by bassist Paul Abrahams and guitarist Issy Ariefdien, was originally geared to American music and was dubbed "Cape Town's answer to Earth Wind and Fire". It evolved towards a kind of soul-jazz-fusion when pianist Chris Schilder joined in 1975. Their music

did not sound specifically South African or Capetonian; it betrayed an aspiration to modernity that only the United States could satisfy. Yet Pacific Express played a crucial role in the evolution of Cape Town's music because it served as conservatory where many musicians cut their teeth, notably: Jonathan Butler, Basil Coetzee and Robbie Jansen. Jonathan Butler left for Great Britain, then the United States, where he became a successful pop artist. Paul Abrahams, Chris Schilder, drummer Jack Momple, Basil Coetzee and Robbie Jansen became central figures in the musical and political storms that hit Cape Town in the 1980s. Basil Coetzee and Robbie Jansen blew the saxophones in Oswietie, which led them to record *Mannenberg* and many other albums with Abdullah Ibrahim. While, during the second half of the 1980s, Peto, with singer Sindile Ringo Madlingozi and members of the Ngcukana family, saxophonist Ezra and keyboardist Cyril, represented the Afro-Pop side of Cape Town – a blend that made them win the national "Shell Road to Fame" talent competition in 1986 – Robbie Jansen and Basil Coetzee were involved in attempts at using the *ghoema* as a basis for a new conception of jazz.

Robbie Jansen and Basil Coetzee

Robbie Jansen (1949–2010) was born in Claremont. Because of the Group Areas Act, his family was moved to Elsies River, then a destitute area where only one street was paved. His father played in a Salvation Army band. Young Robbie started with a guitar and sang, then he tried the trumpet but finally chose the alto saxophone, to which he added the flute. When he began playing professionally, he appeared with groups like the Rockets, modelled on European rock-pop guitar groups; later he discovered African-American soul music, and jazz with Basil Coetzee and Abdullah Ibrahim. After a stint with Spirits Rejoice in Johannesburg, he came back to Cape Town and started Oswietie, which also served as a backing band to one of the most famous 1970s *Klopse*, the Great Gatsbys; he then participated in many musical adventures, mixing jazz, soul music and the *ghoema* beat.

Basil Coetzee (1944–1998) was born in District Six and his family was moved to Manenberg in 1969. As a child he was exposed to the variety of music that could be easily heard in District Six: the Eoan Group's Italian operas, the Malay Choirs, the *Klopse*, *marabi*. He recalled: "When I started getting involved with music, it was sort of a mixture of all these different influences that was actually going on around me."[48] At 18, he played the flute in *Peter and the Wolf*, but at about the same time he discovered jazz through Abdullah Ibrahim and Kippie Moeketsi. He began his career as an uncompromising jazz musician with people like saxophonist Duke Makasi and pianist Pat Matshikiza. He had been struck by



Saxophonist Robbie Jansen (1949–2010), companion of Abdullah Ibrahim and initiator of Cape jazz.

the particular sound Kippie Moeketsi got out of his alto saxophone, which for him was markedly African, different from the sound of American saxophonists, and he tried to introduce in his own music elements denoting Africa and Cape Town. "All the time through my years as a musician I've also tried looking to Africa … to find more about African music, because we're not really Africans here, in the sense that we're African bred … I mean we're born on this continent but we're not tribal you see." Consequently, the style he developed over the years was "… actually a combination of all those different forms of music. I don't know what to call it. We call it maybe jazz, but that is the nearest that we can come to it because it has form, it has structure, and we can improvise on it. I guess that's the reason why they call it jazz, there's a jazz part of it. But now the Cape side of it, that is a combination of the different influences …there's also a form of music that is called *ghoema* … there is also a music that we got involved in say about 15 years ago which is the bushmen music …."[49]

The Genuines

The jazz-*ghoema* mix was systematised by the Genuines, a group led by bassist Gerald "Mac" McKenzie, in which Robbie Jansen often featured. Walking in the footsteps of Pacific Express, they broke off with what amounted to a clever imitation of American music by infusing in it the rhythms and the melodic contours of *Klopse* music. Their brand of *ghoema* music was usually sped up and energetic, which made it appealing to audiences accustomed to rock. "Mac" McKenzie was himself the son of a legendary banjo player and *Klopse* leader known as "Mr Mac". He was brought up in the Christmas Choirs, the Malay Choirs and the *Klopse*. The jazz dimension of the Genuines was provided by pianist Hilton Schilder, son of Tony Schilder and nephew of Chris Schilder, heir to a family that gave many jazz greats to Cape Town. The Genuines decided to call their "jazzy kind of rock" *ghoema,*[50] and in 1987 went into a recording studio with "Mr Mac" to cut an album that heralded the birth of original Cape Town jazz: *Mr Mac and the Genuines* (Shifty Records), including such classical *Klopse* tunes as "*Baba Riebab*" or "*Blikkie se Boem*". Robbie Jansen also worked from *ghoema* music, but wanted to enrich it, to complexify it and, first of all, to broaden it by making it more African. In his late 1980s recordings, Robbie Jansen, supported by Hilton Schilder, Jack Momple, Monty Weber, Errol Dyers, rejuvenated *vastrap* with *mbaqanga*, jazz harmonies and intricate rhythms. He explained the process of music re-composition he went through in the 1980s in the following manner: "The traditional music of Cape Town if you're not talking

about tribal music, it would be the Coon Carnival music you know, which we call *ghoema* music … In the dance hall the music was mainly ballroom, waltz and quick steps and *langarm*, which was very much like the Coon music as well, using the same beat, the *ghoema* beat, that was very famous. We also used the *ghoema* beat but, after the *langarm* we were more into the pop music and played *ghoema* but it was a … a different kind of *ghoema* like a more African type of *ghoema* … It was a more heavier beat, heavier bass, different kind of bass lines, different drum lines because you know. … the youngsters they wanted more heavier rhythms and it was like faster, more frenzied, more violent sounding, double beat and stuff like that … That was the type of music we played in the struggle … That wasn't exactly *ghoema* music, it had more to do with freedom. The music we also changed because the *ghoema* music was just, how can I say, it only moves around three chords harmony and it's little, it is not very wide, one rhythmic pattern, so … we went into 13/4 and to complex rhythms and other harmonies and different chords and played more complicated lines: it was more jazzy, although we never really intended it to be jazz."[51]

Sabenza

Basil Coetzee shared the same attitude and intended the music he played with his group, Sabenza, to be a "people's music"[52]. Paul Abrahams and Basil Coetzee frequently appeared at anti-apartheid meetings in the 1980s. They were sometimes joined by Jack Momple and Robbie Jansen, and the four of them formed the backbone of Sabenza[53]. In 1986, they recorded for Mountain Records an album which is still considered a landmark in the development of jazz in Cape Town because of the subtlety and imagination with which the musicians enmeshed African, South African and American traits. The amalgamation processes they used were analysed by musicologist Norbert Nowotny, who concluded: "Musically the most striking feature of Sabenza is the fusion of western and African elements which can be detected not only in their melodies (e.g. "Coventry Road") and the unusual song forms, but also in the polyrhythmic structure of the rhythmic background and melodic invention (e.g. "African jazz Dance") as well as in the pentatonic nature of especially Basil Coetzee's improvisations" (Nowotny 1995: 150). The tone of the saxophones was definitely Capetonian, and bore traces of the *langarm* blowers; Basil Coetzee's solos frequently relied on pentatonic scales, which are not only African but nearly universal, and the rhythmic thrust was fuelled by elaborate cross metres (Nowotny 1995: 146–147).

Shifty and Mountain Records

Two independent record companies helped musicians circumvent the official and unofficial forms of censorship with which they were confronted in their dealings with recording companies and the SABC: Mountain Records and Shifty. Shifty – using a mobile studio housed in a caravan, thence its name – was created by Lloyd Ross and Ivan Kadey in 1983, but was soon left under the sole responsibility of Lloyd Ross. From the start, Shifty's goal was to give musicians a channel that would allow them to circulate original music with a social and political message. Lloyd Ross achieved this goal and was instrumental in building the success of Warrick Sony's Kalahari Surfers, Sankomota, Mzwakhe Mbuli, the *Voëlvry* artists and, from Cape Town, the Genuines and Tananas. Lloyd Ross' memoirs tell a lot about the mood of the 1980s, the youth's attitudes, the audacity of some musicians and the astuteness of those who wanted them to be heard: "The political slogans of the time were 'Forward to People's Power' and so on, but in my subculture, the music subculture, there was also a spirit of 'Fuck apartheid, let's dance', as the fanzine *Vula* put it. Young people were ignoring boundaries, listening to each other's music, playing together. Some even believed it was possible to rock apartheid into oblivion. But nobody was recording the music … The original idea was not to start a record company, but merely provide a cheap facility to document our and other peoples' music … Ironically, the first full Shifty project was not a punk or new wave band at all, but Sankomota, recorded in Lesotho in late 1983. I had heard them whilst working on a documentary in Lesotho earlier that year. At that stage the band was a three piece, but they had previously toured South Africa with a larger outfit under the name Uhuru. Because of their lyric content, their name[54] and the provocative onstage outbursts of a band member who went by the name of Black Jesus, Sankomota were thrown out of the country … We had made what was patently a good album; its subsequent track record and critical acclaim confirms that. But no record company was willing to release it. The music did not conveniently fit into any of the industry's pigeonholes, and no one could see past that. This bias against original or edgy music was reinforced by the broadcast media with their safe and restrictive play-lists. Sankomota failed a number of tests in this regard. Firstly, they sang in different languages, which violated grand apartheid's pipedream of keeping all languages pure and separate. Secondly, the lyrics referred to what was really happening in the country, which was of course a total no-no. And finally, the music was eclectic, a concept that has confused industry marketing departments since the invention of the gramophone."[55]

Mountain Records was created in Cape Town in 1998 in a somewhat different spirit. Its founder Patrick Lee-Thorp had been the manager for Pacific Express. He was concerned that "the established companies were not really interested in regionally based artists and particularly those living in the shadow of Table Mountain, over 1000 miles from the business metropolis of Johannesburg", and wanted to demonstrate that the motto "local is *lekker*" [local is nice] also applied to innovative music. Mountain Records started with an LP by David Kramer, which was well received. Recordings by musicians who had played in Pacific Express followed: Basil Coetzee's *Sabenza* (1987) and Robbie Jansen's *Vastrap Island* (1989) received warm accolades. Patrick Lee-Thorp decided to use the brilliant success of his first productions to circulate Cape Town music internationally. "This was in the early 80s when the 'Cultural Boycott' of South Africa was gaining momentum[56]. Consistently the target of political discrimination within the country, many of the Mountain stable of artists had little prospect of expanding their horizons. Lee-Thorp argued that this blanket boycott of already disadvantaged artists was a cold political ploy and he continued to seek international outlets for his performers while actively promoting their releases at home."[57] Thanks to his effort, Sabenza, Robbie Jansen and, later, Amampondo were able to tour Europe. Finally, Patrick Lee-Thorp's "local is *lekker*" spirit led him to invent the name "Cape jazz", which he defined as: "… the music performed and composed by the jazz musicians who live and work at the Cape of Good Hope! There is a special texture and feeling to this music that makes it unique … I could see in it a strong reflection of the social and physical environment from which it came. For reasons of economic necessity, jazz players based in this city play music from a range of styles … Some of the influences range from the music of the North American jazz stars to experiences in Christian or Muslim choirs, which for many were their first meetings with formal music training. To this add the gentle melodies of the African sub-continent. Others responded to the carnival music of the South Americas brought by seafarers to this port city. Brew the mixture for many hours in the smokies (drinking and smoking *shebeens*) of one of the townships like the once colourful neighbourhood of District Six, and you have Cape jazz."[58]

Most of the musicians who participated in the elaboration of the new sounds that blew through Cape Town in the 1980s were politically concerned, and were aware that musical innovations conveyed a political message. They explicitly, deliberately mixed everything, and therefore showed obvious disrespect for apartheid regulations and contempt for its ideology. The bands were formed on the basis of the instrumentalists' talent; in order to be original, to respond to the

aspirations of their audiences, they took what they needed wherever they could find it, irrespective of classifications in terms of "race", "tribe" or nationality. They were supported by independent record companies whose directors shared the same points of view, and sometimes by radio programmers operating from the fringes of South Africa, including in Bantustans turned into supposedly independent states. However, for many, expressing their discontent and their opposition through music was not enough: they used music as a voice to mobilise support for the anti-apartheid struggle.

Musical Struggles against Apartheid

The Soweto uprisings rippled down to Cape Town and stirred a renewal of political action, which was infused with the ideas of Black Consciousness, and also with a re-appropriation of the ideals of the Freedom Charter. Neighbourhoods like Bonteheuwel and Langa became hotspots of political agitation. In 1980, school boycotts led to the creation of grassroots anti-apartheid organisations. In 1981, the ANC flag was openly raised at the funeral of Hennie Ferris, an ANC activist who had been jailed on Robben Island. Then a series of demonstrations denounced the futileness of the Republic Festival organised by the government for the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of South Africa. The years that followed saw large numbers of pupils and students rally to anti-apartheid organisations, a trend that culminated with the official launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, on 28 August 1983 (Field nd). The UDF was an umbrella organisation accommodating all kinds of movements, united in their will to fight for a democratic and non-racial South Africa. It acted as a relay for the outlawed ANC. The UDF strove to "knit together local struggles in one stream", it created "a sense of we" and succeeded in pushing back "the frontiers of what was politically possible" (Seekings 2000: 93, 22, 119). Demonstrations, street clashes with the forces of repression multiplied in the mid-1980s, especially in places like Athlone, Bonteheuwel, Gugulethu and Mitchell's Plain. The campus of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), an institution "reserved" for coloureds[59], became a major centre of debate and action, regularly raided by the police[60]. The UDF was banned on 24 February 1988 but continued to operate underground in spite of difficulties of organisation and communication. It eventually decided to "unban" itself in 1989. After the ANC was legalised again, there were heated discussions, especially in the Western Cape, as to whether the UDF should be maintained or dissolved. It was eventually resolved to dismantle it in August 1991, much to the chagrin of many

activists who thought that it could have continued to play an important role, besides and in support of the ANC (Seekings 2000).

Musicians and the UDF

Jazz and fusion musics could be interpreted as implicit condemnations of apartheid. Many musicians actually meant it, and shared trumpeter Johnny Mekoa's point of view: "With playing jazz, we were stating our dislikes of the racist regime" (quoted in Devroop & Walton 2007: 18). In spite of his political aloofness[61], guitarist Philip Tabane was seen as a beacon of liberty, and his unrelenting explorations in musical freedom have been widely understood as an assertion of black autonomy through creation (Galane 2009). Other musicians suggested their commitment in discrete ways. In a live performance, pianist and composer Gideon Nxumalo disguised a quotation of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*" in the second movement of his *Jazz Fantasia*[62] (Coplan & Jules-Rosette 2008: 200–201). Much more explicitly, in the late 1960s and 1970s, Lefifi Tladi developed with his group, Dashiki, projects based on the idea of community art. They were influenced by the African-American Last Poets and became closely linked to the cultural wing of the Black Consciousness Movement. In public performances, Dashiki fused music with political poetry to demonstrate that pleasure and creativity expressed in vernacular idioms were necessarily political[63].

The launch of the UDF revived a history of cooperation between musicians and political movements which went back to the pre-World War II times of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the ANC's involvement in vaudeville production (Ballantine 1991: 141–143). After recording "Mannenberg" with Abudllah Ibrahim, Robbie Jansen and Basil Coetzee popularised the tune by playing it at many rallies and demonstrations, so much so that it became identified with the ANC and became a kind of anti-apartheid anthem in Cape Town. Robbie Jansen used to intersperse it with little political sermons, calling the audiences to "rise up" and "be proud of our own stuff" (Mason 2003: 39). Basil Coetzee was frequently called upon to appear at rallies and meetings. He played solo or, often, with Pacific Express bassist Paul Abrahams. The duo participated in the launch of the UDF on 28 August 1983 and activists revelled in the sound they remembered from "Mannenberg", sound which for them carried echoes of freedom. Around Paul Abrahams, Basil Coetzee formed a new band, Sabenza, with Paula Goldstone or Michael Martins (keyboards), James Kibby (guitar), Jack Momple, Tich Arendse or Deon Slabber (drums), a group Robbie Jansen occasionally joined. They participated in fund-raising concerts for families of those detained without

trial, imprisoned for political reasons, and all victims of apartheid (Nowotny 1995: 137), played at numerous trade union and UDF concerts and rallies, went to Amsterdam in 1987 for the Culture in Another South Africa conference, and supported the ANC when it was unbanned[64].

Basil Coetzee's and Paul Abrahams' political commitment made a very strong impression on Robbie Jansen and prompted him to emulate them: "I'd heard these two guys play and I admired them. I so admired them for what they stood for. While we were playing pop music to stay alive, Basil refused. And Paul refused. They didn't want to play this kind of music. So, through admiration, I went up to go and play with them, and I followed them."[65] Robbie Jansen and his bands, which were always mixed, played at rallies, on campuses, interpreted freedom songs and invented new ones. Robbie Jansen explained to Gareth Crawford: "The people here needed us to educate them to tell them the reason why we had to change the system" (quoted in Devroop & Walton 2007: 52). This he did in one of his most famous songs of the late 1980s "How I'd Love to Feel Free (in my own country)". According to cultural activist Steve Gordon, it "… is maybe his finest ode to freedom. As a singer, he addresses freedom. Childlike and chatty, the first verses coaxes: 'Are you here? Are you there? Freedom where have you been hiding yourself? I've been looking all over.' Then, in shocked desperation,: 'Are you real?' or (punctuating this question, as though thinking aloud): 'Do. You. Just. Exist, in imagination of my song?'"[66]

MAPP

One of the outcomes of the involvement of musicians in the UDF was the creation of Music Action for People's Power (MAPP). Trumpeter and maths teacher Duke Ngcukana, who became the coordinator of the MAPP music school in 1989, explained that: "MAPP, when it started, it was an affiliate of the UDF, it was Music Action for People's Power, it was to use music as a vehicle for liberation. Also to subvert the government through music, for instance, meetings were banned, but concerts were not banned, so through concerts you could have these rallies without the authorities knowing."[67] After a UDF concert given in 1986 at Rocklands Civic, Mitchell's Plain, Basil Coetzee and Steve Gordon, a sound engineer and cultural activist, felt the need for a structure which would bring together musicians committed to democratic movements in Cape Town. At a first meeting organised in April 1986, it was agreed that "… while it is important to facilitate the building of a 'culture of resistance', we need to move beyond mere resistance … that apartheid had created 'islands of culture' in our society, and that

as cultural activists, their role was to help break down the barriers, and be part of the building of a true 'South African Culture'."[68] The decision to create Music Action for People's Power was made.

MAPP participated in all kinds of political events: it held cultural workshops with trade unions, community organisations and youth groups, but also acted as a booking agency and opened a school. Duke Ngcukana considered that a school was indispensable for the achievement of MAPP projects: "So I proposed that actually MAPP should be a school, doing all these other fields, but the core should be a school, and then the school would get four areas of work. One was a full-time course, with two streams, one was a jazz course to prepare the youth and young adults, some actually were quite old, to enter the University of Cape Town to follow the professional circuit. The other lot was a choral programme to train teachers … The third programme was working with a music therapist; the first one was Sol Abner, working with street kids, disabled children. Then the fourth programme was identifying community centres, as far as Stellenbosch, where there were music activities; we would go there and check out their needs and play whatever was reckoned there."[69] In 1989, the year the school opened, MAPP, changed its name to Music Action for People's Progress, and moved from Landsdowne to the Joseph Stone Auditorium in Athlone. MAPP was able to mobilise many musicians as performers and teachers; it trained a new generation that would enliven the Cape musical scene after 1990, and, according to David B. Coplan, "… soon became willy-nilly the quasi-official spokesmen for what musicians should and shouldn't, would and wouldn't do for political reasons" (Coplan 2002: 3). MAPP was able to extend its activities, to open the school, to support Duke Ngcukana's Chorimba[70] project, and to run outreach programmes in New Crossroads, Khayelitsha, Langa, Gugulethu, Athlone, Manenberg, Green Point and Stellenbosch, thanks to the support of The Network, the Swedish National Organisation for Non-Profit Cultural Associations. Unfortunately, with the advent of democracy in South Africa, foreign donors considered that it was no longer necessary to fund former anti-apartheid organisations, whatever the work they continued doing in the 1990s. The Network's grant to MAPP was discontinued, and since it did not get enough subsidies from the local authorities or the national government, MAPP was compelled to put an end to its activities after a three-day festival organised at the Nico Malan Theatre, the former stronghold of white culture in Cape Town, from 2 to 5 February 1994, an event which featured what looked like a who's who of Cape Town's musicians[71].

From Interweaving to Creation

The presence of jazz musicians at UDF rallies and meetings underlay the emergence of the phrase "Cape jazz" to designate a particular type of jazz which had emerged in Cape Town during the 1980s. Cape jazz has become a commercial label and its existence as a definite musical genre has been disputed. Yet, it cannot be denied that Cape Town served as a melting pot for musical blending that did not develop elsewhere. Colin Miller considers that: "Cultural activism became an important platform for resistance and ensured that Cape jazz became a key vehicle of expression for the anti-apartheid movement" (Miller 2008: 3). This is an opinion supported by Vincent Kolbe, for whom a piece titled "*Die Struggle*" based on the *ghoema* beat, played by Mac McKenzie and Hilton Schilder during the 1985 municipal workers' strike, could be considered as the birth certificate of Cape jazz. It appeared in the wake of "Mannenberg" and signalled the emergence of a new township culture, of which the UDF was part and parcel, a culture embraced by the youth under the influence of Black Consciousness ideas. Young activists who had been born or raised in the new townships after their parents had been relocated, and students who lived in close proximity to the African and coloured working classes, absorbed popular forms of music that could be used in demonstrations and rallies, occasions when interactions and exchanges could take place. Eventually, African township music infiltrated working-class styles of coloured music on the backdrop of their common fascination for American musics[72].

The elusive Cape jazz

What has been called Cape jazz incorporates and transforms musical idiosyncrasies that are particular to Cape Town coloured musicians. First, there is a particular saxophone tone that can still be heard in *langarm* bands, which may originate in violin techniques used in Cape Town. According to Vincent Kolbe: "Lots of war returnees had saxophone and clarinet skills and some brass … They had to imitate the violin figure on the saxophone. And this is how the Cape shape of line [on the saxophone] developed. And lots of people actually had this wail. The sound, a terrible kind of fish-horn sound which has been often criticised. And important is that it actually coincided with the jazz saxophone wail" (quoted in Nixon 1997: 21). However, insisted Alex van Heerden, it was not only the sound of *langarm* saxophonists that was singular: their melodic turns were also original: "… they have their own way of playing saxophone harmonies and arrangements, and melodic inflexions which are quite unique and aren't American. And I'm not just

talking about the vibrato, it's almost like melodic phrases that they use, particularly in the *vastrap*, when they play what they call *sopvleis* – that's another word that they use, it means a meat soup – which is apparently one of the *langarm* dances where they actually have fixed arrangements in the dances … When they play the *vastrap*, there are certain melodic themes that they have obviously adapted from maybe the violin or the concertina or something, that's unique and developed into that unique saxophone style."[73] *Langarm*, as well as *Klopse* bands, were of course a training ground for many Capetonian musicians. By playing *vastrap* or *moppies*, they learned to set any melody to the *ghoema* beat. That was not totally new, and Sathima Bea Benjamin admitted that the musicians with whom she started singing "… used to take old songs and put them on top of this rhythm, in harmony, and sing them all night" (quoted in Martin 2000b: 41). But that was systematised and applied to material which was no longer made of jazz standards or pop songs, but of the fusions that had been concocted during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Duke Ngcukana, who hardly recognises the existence or specificity of Cape jazz, states bluntly: "That time [in the 1960s], there was no talk of Cape jazz." He thinks that it was heard for the first time at the Grahamstown National Arts Festival in the second half of the 1970s[74]. The idea of Cape jazz was probably inspired by Abdullah Ibrahim's appropriation and transfiguration of carnival tunes, which underpin compositions such as "Homecoming" (Miller 2007: 145). Morris Goldberg pursued the same line with "Pedal Pusher", a composition by Gary Kriel he played on his album *Jazz in Transit* (Mountain Records, 1983). In the same period, a new generation of musicians juggled with all sorts of South African rhythms to rejuvenate and localise their creations (Galane 2008: 223–250). In Cape Town, pianist Kyle Shepherd claimed that guitarists Alvin and Errol Dyers, Hilton Schilder, Robbie Jansen and Mac McKenzie were among the musicians who took "… traditional *ghoema* and extended it to an extent that it became an art form, not just traditional music … they added a lot of things … they intellectualised it a bit more" (quoted in Ndzuta 2007: 37). Colin Miller emphasised the role played by the Genuines in this movement: "Together Mac McKenzie and Hilton formed the Genuines. The band pushed the boundaries of music in Cape Town by mixing traditional *ghoema* music with driving rock beats and jazz improvisation. Although the band was short-lived, it made a major impact on the local jazz scene."[75]

The phrase "Cape jazz" appeared at a time of social and political turmoil in which some musicians reassessed their relationship with the Cape and its history and became more directly involved in politics. Duke Ngcukana considers that it

was basically created by coloured musicians who wanted to (re)claim an identity: "Cape jazz I think was more of … the coloured people wanting to have an identity"; while he thinks that it did not have distinct musical characteristics, he nevertheless admits that Cape Town "has a strong tradition of having a particular voice" and recognises that, in their own ways, Basil Coetzee, in whose music he heard a singular "innocence", and Mac McKenzie were and are musical giants. George Werner insists that the Cape jazz movement must be understood in the context of the musicians' growing political awareness: "Cape jazz was coined during the UDF period during the mid-80s. What happened in the mid-80s? Suddenly the musicians started standing up, you had COSATU … UDF started having rallies here, and the musicians got involved in the rallies … Suddenly the guys were composing protest music … At the same time they wanted to identify themselves different from the guys in Jo'burg … Cape jazz, is it different? It is not different, Cape jazz is just a bunch of musicians who started working together like at MAPP, with this MAPP incentive, and they wanted to promote their own music."[76]

Political involvement and asserting a Capetonian (not exclusively coloured) identity went hand in hand: a new style had to be invented to accompany the mass movement; it had to be rooted in the musical history of Cape Town and could be related to an African-American genre of music that had become universal. Musicians were no longer satisfied with reproducing foreign genres such as soul music, funk or jazz-rock, they had to make their own voice heard in the struggle. This is why they went in quest of their roots: "I think they started wanting to look at themselves and say 'who am I?'; Erroll Dyers and Robbie [Jansen] weren't that much Khoisan until that moment when they began to identify with a certain … so they started looking at their own roots." They brought something new in the way jazz was played in Cape Town but remained Capetonians who played jazz, alongside other Capetonians who also played jazz in a slightly different manner, like Winston Mankunku Ngozi and Ezra Ngcukana, who were influenced by John Coltrane but did not repudiate township jazz. For George Werner, the best illustration of the futility of this kind of labelling remains Abdullah Ibrahim: "When you listen to his music, then I would say there is no such thing as Cape music, Cape jazz and African jazz, because he has African … music, and he's got the *ghoema* music as well, the *Kaapse Klopse* music, he's got the church music, in his music, he's got the *mbaqanga* … there is this sound on the saxophone and it is very important … the sound of that saxophone that's playing with the *langarm* bands … that wailing … so Dollar actually made use of that."[77]

The various narratives trying to reconstruct the origins of Cape jazz provide a

few clues from which it seems possible to sketch a definition. It is jazz, because it demands improvisation; it includes elements from *ghoema*, *langarm* and *Klopse* music; but it also assimilates elements from African, or township, jazz. It is a mixture of definite ingredients that arose from the interactions of musicians coming from different backgrounds and seeking a common identity in a very special political conjuncture (Miller 2007: 144). Some actors or commentators of the Cape musical scene have perceived it as essentially coloured. Jimmy Adams claimed that it was a coloured invention: "When I asked saxophonist Jimmy Adams for his definition of Cape jazz, writes Colin Miller in the introduction to his *Jazz Collection*, he answered, '… it is our music, the music of the people, the Coloured people'. When pressed on this question, Adams explained it was music that accompanied picnics and annual street parades in Cape Town" (Miller 2008: 2). The dominant opinion, however, is that Cape jazz is neither coloured nor African but inextricably mixed. Even Duke Ngcukana put aside his reluctance to eventually acknowledge the existence of Cape jazz when he underlined that Mac McKenzie and the Genuines or the Ghoema Captains interwove township jazz and the *ghoema* beat: "… what they did is to take African music, popular African music and play it to that beat … if you were to say a Cape jazz, then you would typify that because it's different to anything I've ever heard anywhere in the world, it's different."[78]

From his experience of playing with Cape musicians, Alex van Heerden thought the combination was not limited to rhythm only but also implied harmony and melody: "I've almost been apprenticed by a certain community of musicians, like Robbie Jansen, Mac McKenzie, Hilton Schilder. I would say they formed my ideas about Cape music, because I played with them more than with anyone else. So I would say, through them, Cape music is a music that acknowledges Khoisan origins as well as the *Klopse*, as well as American jazz: that's Cape jazz for me in the way that I was taught it by these people that I played with." A little later, he elaborated on the parameters that could help define Cape music and Cape jazz: "I would think that essential is the rhythm, which they call *vastrap* or *ghoema*, when it's carnival they call it *ghoema*. Then harmonically, it's the European harmonic tradition that we inherited from folk songs and church music, which is very major based: tonic, subdominant, dominant, and different arrangements of those … The main difference harmonically between African jazz and Cape music is: in African jazz, they use the same kind of chords, tonic, dominant, subdominant, and it shifts quite rapidly between those chords, one bar each maybe, and over and over and over. Cape music does that as well but you might wait a bit longer on these chords … so you have a lot of inversion of chords and slight modulations

to other keys, which you find in hymns which came over into Cape jazz, in the compositions of everybody, from Abdullah Ibrahim obviously … but also in the more contemporary … The music that we've played as Cape jazz, it's very influenced by church music and the harmonic complexities which come with that. Which is nice because it's not American jazz. It's a different kind of harmonic system with its own complexity but because it's all major chords, it still sounds African in a sense."[79] Alex van Heerden disentangled the various threads woven in the fabric of Cape jazz: the Khoisan legacy, Christian churches' chords, American jazz harmonic richness, and *ghoema* rhythm. To which must be added elements of *marabi*, *mbaqanga* and African Jazz, which passed from Temmy Hawker to Jimmy Adams and were preserved by, among others, Winston Mankunku Ngozi and Tete Mbambisa[80]. Cape jazz is improvisation on various combinations of musical traits borrowed from all the historical currents of Cape Town music and fused in diverse and changeable combinations to give birth to original creations, most of which have in common the fact that they rely on, or at least allude to, the *ghoema* beat.

Originary blending and creolisation

When, in 1990, South Africa entered the liberation decade, its citizens envisioned the radically new situation they were confronted with against the backdrop of two social memories that are impossible to disentangle: a memory of violence, separation and oppression; and a memory of contacts, exchanges and togetherness, especially in creation and struggle against racism and domination (Martin 1992c). As the example of the development of music in Cape Town has clearly shown, music belongs with the memory of positive interactions, "interracial" cooperation and opposition to racism and segregation. This memory is no less pervasive and rampant than the memory of brutality and divisiveness, and it carries the germs of a common future. This is why unveiling the history of South African music is so crucial: because it sheds a particular light on what was accomplished and suffered in the past, a light which can also enlighten the path toward the edification of a "new" South Africa. Moreover, it tells a story of creolisation in which inputs from the outside, imitations, and appropriations led to original inventions that served to build new conceptions of being South African, based on a sense of self-esteem that did not derive from power but from creation.

The history of South African musics exemplifies anthropologist Jean-Louis Amselle's theory of originary blending (*métissage original*): in human societies, nothing has never been originally pure, nothing developed in isolation, and all mixing combined elements that were themselves already mixed (Amselle 1990).

Originary blending applies to Khoikhoi music, and indeed to the musics carried by Bantu-speaking migrants that settled within the boundaries of contemporary South Africa, as well as to the musics brought by European settlers and slaves of many origins. Even African musical instruments have been said to bear the mark of Indonesia (Kirby 1966), a legacy which may have been complemented by slaves from the East Indies and Madagascar. Europeans who came to the Cape, directly or via Batavia, may also have been, without necessarily being aware of it, familiarised with musics of the Islamic world, while Asian slaves had absorbed Dutch culture before being deported to South Africa: "If the origins of *boeremusiek* could be traced back to the Islamic spiritual music of the Islamic civilisation in Spain, Cape Malay music, the secular music of the Cape Muslims, at least their lyrics, could be traced back to the Netherlands. The Dutch folk songs, brought here from Europe during the early days of white settlement, were soon adopted and adapted by the Eastern slaves as a form of entertainment for their masters" (Davids 1985: 36).

Cape Town's originary blending was compounded by encounters that took place at the Cape, then in the rest of South Africa. *Boeremusiek* integrated elements from the musics of slaves, the Khoikhoi and Bantu-speaking Africans. White parlour music was fashioned by the particular interpretive styles of slave or coloured musicians. In their own repertoires, slaves mixed what may have been preserved from their original cultures and what they could glean in the masters' musics. Africans infused their own musical forms with elements borrowed from Europeans and slaves or descendants of slaves. Blending processes in South Africa have been intricate and unending, renewed at every moment in the history of the country. They have generated creations that transcended and transfigured the elements that were fused, giving rise to genres of music and styles of interpretation that are unique to South Africa. The singular history of Cape Town, as a port city with particular demographics and a strong cultural legacy of slavery, has accommodated special dynamics of blending and creation that have come to characterise the Mother City, and have contributed to giving it a "musical identity"; these dynamics fertilised the whole of South Africa.

Local dynamics of creolisation fused musics that were actually carried by the various people who came to inhabit the Cape and South Africa, and again blended the results with permanently renewed foreign imports. Holland and Great Britain contributed to the regular revitalisation of Cape Town's musics but, after the middle of the 19th century, the main influence was undoubtedly North American. It started to noticeably reshape South African music, with on the one hand the blackface minstrels, who engendered what was to become the main mask

in the *Klopse* carnival and also bore upon the aesthetics of other genres, such as *isicathamiya*; and on the other, Protestant hymnody, in particular as reshaped by African-Americans which influenced the development of *makwaya*. The particular musical relationship established in Cape Town between dominated black people and the United States had a strong symbolical value. It linked the oppressed with a phantasmagoric society where freedoms and opportunities were open to non-white people: "a land of plenty, the Black Utopia as such" (Erlmann 1997: 9). This ideal was nurtured by the real presence of African-Americans in Cape Town, not so much sailors in this case, but mostly Baptist and Methodist missionaries. In the course of the 20th century, the press aimed at black readerships continued to report progresses made by "coloreds" in the United States, as well as efforts made by organisations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) or the Urban League to enhance their rights. Music was part and parcel of the vision in which the United States was painted in the colours of freedom and modernity. American music was universally (that is in a world dominated by whites) considered modern and fashionable. Identifying with American musicians and appropriating American music signified being able to integrate a world of modernity, partly legitimate because universally recognised, partly subversive since it suggested the idea of a possible non-white counter-modernity. Both dimensions of American modernity were useful to the construction of autonomous identity configurations among black people, for they contributed to strengthening black assertiveness with the feeling that it was legitimate and would be recognised by all but the racist clique that governed South Africa.

Music answered the longing for modernity. It provided a field where connections could be established, even if only in the imagination, and where appropriation led to creation, that is to the display of an ability to invent one's own modernity, which symbolically was equivalent to a proclamation of unlimited humanity. This is one of the reasons why jazz was a major force in processes of musical innovation. It was of American origin, it was malleable, had proved it could absorb all sorts of music, had been repeatedly renewed, and had incessantly accommodated creation. This understanding of jazz made the word a kind of catch-all musical appellation in South Africa, where its domain was extended to all sorts of interrelated popular musics. Finally, although black America was frequently referred to in intellectual and political debates, especially at the beginning of the 20th century and in the 1970s–1980s, jazz and American music were not exclusively perceived as African-American. Testimonies and memoirs of South African, notably Capetonian, musicians mention American

stars and bands without distinction of colour. Glenn Miller may have been more popular than Duke Ellington, the vocal groups that were imitated were not only the Inkspots or the Mills Brothers but the Four Freshmen and the Hi-Lo's. Cape Town had its own Paul Robeson, but also Mario Lanza and Bing Crosby, not to mention the ambiguous Al Jolson. This extensive embracing of jazz paved the way for the inclusion of white musicians in Cape Town's jazz and fusions in the late 1950s and later. The role played by Ronnie Beer, Dave Galloway, Morris Goldberg, Chris McGregor and Cecil Ricca, to name but a few, in the emergence of Cape Town as the capital of South African jazz indicated that, while white militants were brought to court for their anti-apartheid engagement at the Treason Trial and several of them were condemned at the Rivonia Trial, whites belonged to South Africa and were part of the construction of an original and mixed musical modernity. Jazz enacted openly an emerging system of value and meaning (Coplan 2008: 406) that underpinned all other genres of music, even when they were thought to be exclusively attached to particular groups in spite of their original blending and unceasing cross-fertilisation.

Modern jazz and fusion musics gave birth to Cape jazz when musicians realised that the search for modernity could be made more successful – in terms of its relatedness to the social and political evolution of South Africa – by the integration of musical traits that, in urban settings, had for a long time connoted backwardness, if not submission. *Marabi* and *Klopse* music were summoned to rejuvenate a form of jazz capable of mobilising support for the UDF and the ANC. The new mix that appeared made ardent use of the *ghoema* beat, which became emblematic of Cape music. The *ghoema* beat is usually associated with *Klopse* music, *ghoemaliedjies*, *moppies*, *vastrap*, that is genres which are considered as typically coloured. But behind the *ghoema* beat, there may be more than meets the ear, and its history is certainly more complex than is usually assumed[81].

Notes

1. According to Carol Ann Muller: "Sathima was consistently excluded from the inner circle of the anti-apartheid movement. The reason: because she was perceived to play American music with African-American musicians. It was felt that her music was not sufficiently 'African'" (Muller 2000: 35).
2. "Le satin de Sathima", Sathima Bea Benjamin, interview with Denis Constant [Denis-Constant Martin], *Jazz Magazine* 320, July–August 1983: 54. This interview and a few others quoted in this chapter were collected during the 1970s and 1980s, recorded on cassettes, and translated into French. Unfortunately, the original cassettes have been lost and the French translation only remained. The excerpts from these interviews have been re-translated from the French. They may not reproduce the exact words used by the interviewees, but they do convey precisely what they wanted to mean. On Sathima Bea Benjamin's repertoire, see: Crowther & Anderson 2000.
3. Initially known as "Dollar" Brand, the pianist, composer and band leader Adolf Johannes Brand took the name Abdullah Ibrahim in 1968, following his conversion to Islam. For the sake of simplicity I shall only use his chosen Muslim name, under which he is now famous.
4. Pianist, composer and band leader Chris McGregor underlined that: "In South Africa, too, it must be understood, the situation is not the same. People do not categorise like they do in western civilisations and the whole spectrum from folk music to the big bands is continuous, at the same time. You may have musicians who play on a Friday night with a *kwela* band and on the Saturday night in a jazz club and Monday entertain their friends with a guitar. The scene is not so categorical and not so much in a bag, not so much professional, too." Chris McGregor, interview by Bill Smith, published in the Autumn 1967 issue of *Coda Magazine* (Canada) accessible at: http://www.mfowler.myzen.co.uk/?page_id=114 (accessed 10/01/2011).
5. Directed by Alan Crossland, 1927, starring Al Jolson in blackface.
6. A Church of England youth organisation founded in 1891 whose activities included playing music in bugle ensembles or brass and wind bands; many musicians playing in *Klopse* orchestras, Christmas Choirs and dance bands have been trained in the Lad's Brigade; Christmas Choirs competitions are regularly adjudicated by musicians belonging to the Lad's Brigade.
7. Vincent Kolbe remembered that: "Lots of war returnees had saxophone and clarinet skills and some brass […]"(quoted in Nixon 1997: 21).
8. This Act imposed segregation in all public amenities, public places (except public roads and streets), and public transport in order to prevent contact between whites and other "races".
9. On the history of the Blue Notes, and the musical backgrounds of its members, see: Dlamini 2009.
10. Dorkay House was located at the end of Eloff Street, on the fringes of Johannesburg's central business district. It was home to the Union of South African Artists, provided rehearsal spaces for musicians and offered courses in music and drama. It is in Dorkay House that the African Jazz Pioneers were re-formed in the 1980s (see: http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2006/nov/nov2_dorkayhouse.stm; accessed 31/01/2011).
11. Frank Barton, "Cape jazz is now the tops", *Drum*, May 1961, quoted in Rasmussen 2001: 7.
12. On Dollar Brand/Abdullah Ibrahim, see: Lucia 2002; Mason 2007; Rasmussen 2000; and: Daphne Topouzis, "Abdullah Ibrahim's South African Jazz", *Africa Report*, July–August 1988: 65–67.
13. *Verse 1* has been reissued on CD by Gallo.

14. Daphne Topouzis, "Abdullah Ibrahim's South African Jazz", *Africa Report*, July–August 1988: 66.
15. Most of the information used in this paragraph is taken from McGregor 1995; see also: Jordan 1988; Tony McGregor, "Chris, the brother I loved", *Vrye Weekblad*, 20–26 March 1992: 6–7; Tony McGregor "Prophets without honour", *Vrye Weekblad* 25 September 1996: 11–12; Tony McGregor, "From Blue Notes to Brotherhood, a Journey of Sounds", http://www.afribeat.com/ (accessed 04/02/2008); and http://www.mfowler.myzen.co.uk/?page_id=94 (accessed 30/04/2010).
16. The action is set in a Western Cape fishing village, the music mixes swing jazz, melodic turns borrowed to *nederlandsliedjies* and American sentimental songs, accents from the *ghoema*. Retrospectively *Mr Paljas* sounds like a forerunner to Taliep Petersen and David Kramer's shows. The pit orchestra included: Dennis Mpale (tp), Hugh Masekela (tp), Dudu Pukwana (as), Nick Peterson (as), Cornelius Kumalo (cl, bs), Blyth Mbityana (tb), Joe Mal (b), Columbus Joya (dm). *Mr Paljas* has been recorded on the Gallotone label (see: http://electricjive.blogspot.com/2009/10/blue-notes-1962-go-musical-mr-paljas.html; accessed 12/01/2011). It stirred up a controversy and was accused by the *The Torch*, the mouthpiece of the Non-European Unity Movement, a political organisation radically opposed to any form of collaboration with the apartheid authorities, to be "art for the CAD", the Coloured Affairs Department set up by the government (*The Torch*, 17 January 1962: 6–8).
17. Mzimkulu Lawrence "Danayi" Dlova (tp), Willie Nettie (tb), Ronnie Beer (ts), Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana (bs), Sammy Maritz (b), Monty Weber (dm).
18. The big band was recorded by Gallo and the album reissued on CD by Teal as: Chris McGregor and the Castle Lager Big Band, *Jazz: The African Sound*. The orchestra was composed of: Dennis Mpale, Ebbie Creswell, Mongezi Feza, Noel Jones (tp); Bob Tizzard, Blyth Mbityana, Willie Nettie (tb), Dudu Pukwana, Barney Rachabane, Nikele Moyake, Christopher "Columbus" Ngcukana (saxes); Kippie Moeketsi (cl, as), Sammy Maritz (b), Early Mabuza (dm); its repertoire included compositions by Kippie Moeketsi, Dollar Brand and Chris McGregor.
19. When he tried to speak isiXhosa in Cape Town, he made people laugh, because it was rural isiXhosa "that made them think of their grandmothers!" (quoted in McGregor 1995: 5).
20. Minister for Arts and Culture, 2004–2009, who, when this article was published, served on the secretariat of the ANC's National Executive Committee.
21. Most information in this paragraph comes from Rasmussen ed. 2001 and 2003.
22. Pianist Tete Mbambisa told Gareth Crawford: "At Zambezi, there was a basement full of mattresses and blankets. Musicians used to sleep there after playing because of the pass laws. We could not get to Langa at night, because they would arrest you. We had to play and sleep there. We used to play there until 12:00 and then sleep in the basement" (quoted in Devroop & Walton 2007: 100).
23. The Freedom Charter expounded the objectives of the ANC and other democratic movements regarding the edification of a non-racial South Africa. It constituted a reference document for the ANC and most anti-apartheid movements.
24. Tony McGregor, "Sleeve notes for the CD: The Blue Notes Legacy", reproduced at: http://www.afribeat.com/; accessed 04/02/2008.
25. "*Louis Moholo, le rythme du souffle*", interview with Gérard Rouy, *Jazz Magazine* 239, December 1975: 20–23 (re-translated from the French by Maxine McGregor).
26. Originally transmitting from Mozambique, Radio LM (for Lourenço Marques, the colonial name of Maputo), a station popular among South African youth for the variety of musics it broadcast, was taken over by South Africa in 1972 and renamed Radio 5. It continued with

a policy of playing popular music of various genres, but was supposed to limit its playlist to "international" artists; it enjoyed a large listenership among black South Africans (Hamm 1991: 170).

27. For a long time, the South African government considered television to be a social evil, a medium through which racial mixing could be promoted; SATV, aimed at a white audience, was finally inaugurated on 5 January 1976; SATV 2 and 3, directed at black audiences, were only launched in 1982.
28. Tony McGregor, "From Blue Notes to Brotherhood, a Journey of Sounds", http://www.afribeat.com/; accessed 04/02/2008.
29. In: *Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony*, a film directed by Lee Hirsch, *Kwela* Productions in association with Bomb Films, HBO/Cinemax Documentary Films, the Ford Foundation and the South African Broadcasting Corporation, 2002.
30. "*Louis Moholo, le rythme du souffle*", interview with Gérard Rouy, *Jazz Magazine* 239, December 1975: 20 (re-translated from the French by the author).
31. Journalist and photographer Valerie Wilmer wrote for instance that the members of the Blue Notes "[…] literally upturned the London jazz scene, helping create an exciting climate in which other young players could develop their own ideas about musical freedom" (quoted by Tony McGregor, "Prophets without honour", *Vrye Weekblad* 25 September 1996: 11). Magazines devoted to jazz in North America (*Down Beat*, *Coda*) and in Europe (*Melody Maker* in the United Kingdom, *Jazz Magazine* and *Jazz Hot* in France, and many others) published many stories and interviews that illustrate the seminal role played by South African musicians.
32. For instance, by Abdullah Ibrahim: Jazz Epistles, *Verse 1*, Gallo; *Dollar Brand Plays Sphere Jazz*, Gallo, 1960, reissued on CD in Great Britain as part of *Blues for a Hip King*, Camden, 1998; *Duke Ellington presents the Dollar Brand Trio*, Reprise, 1964, reissued on CD in the collection Reprise Archives. By the Blue Notes: *Township Bop*, 1964, reissued on CD in Great Britain by Proper; *Blue Notes Legacy, Live in South Africa 1964*, reissued on CD in Great Britain by Ogun; *Very Urgent*, Polydor, 1968, reissued in Great Britain by Fledg'ling Records. The only counter-example I am aware of is a tape titled *Blue Notes Play Dudu*, recorded in studio on 13 June 1963, which I have been graciously given by Tony McGregor, and which has apparently never been commercially released. The music in *Blue Notes Play Dudu* is much closer to jive and *mbaqanga* than music in other contemporary recordings by the group. It may be that the Blue Notes, like Abdullah Ibrahim (Mason 2007: 27), privately "indulged" in playing popular forms of music they did not perform in public. The Blue Notes who participated in this session may have been: Chris McGregor (p), Dudu Pukwana (as), Mackay Davashe (ts), Malindi Blyth Mbityana (tb), Dennis Mpale or Mongezi Feza (tp), Saint Mokaingoa or Martin Mgijma or Sammy Maritz (b), Early Mabuza (dm) (see: Dlamini 2009: 68–89).
33. *Jazz The African Sound*, Teal Records, 1991.
34. The *Cape Herald*, 21 September 1968 (quoted in Mason 2007: 30).
35. Nikele Moyake, whose health was not good, left the Blue Notes and came back to South Africa in 1965, where he rapidly died of a brain tumour. Except for Louis Moholo, the other members of the Blue Notes died in exile: Mongezi Feza in 1975, Johnny Dyani in 1986, Chris McGregor and Dudu Pukwana in 1990.
36. After 1976, Abdullah Ibrahim participated in many ANC cultural activities; for instance, he composed and directed an agit-prop show, the Kalahari Liberation Opera, which was presented in Vienna, Berlin and Paris in 1982. About the representations of the opera in France, see: Denis Constant [Denis-Constant Martin], "Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand)

Kalahari Liberation Opera, Elysées Montmartre, 25 octobre [1982]", *Jazz Magazine* 314, January 1983: 28–29.

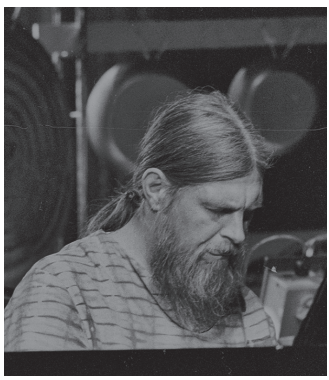
37. "*Dollar Brand : le temps du rêve*", interview with Gérard Rouy, *Jazz Magazine* 312, November 1982: 21 (re-translated from the French by the author).
38. Interview with Basil Coetzee, recorded at his home, Rocklands, Cape Town, on 24 August 1994.
39. See: Dudley Moloi, "Winston Mankunku Ngozi: Icon of jazz", *Sunday Times*, 17 October 2009 (accessible on line at: http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/article155159.ece; accessed 07/01/2011).
40. With Victor Ntoni (b), and Nelson Magazwa (dm); released in 1971 under the label Soultown, also owned by Rashid Vally, usually devoted to dance music.
41. With the same rhythm section, plus Allan Kwela (g) and Kippie Moeketsi (as); released in 1973 under the label Soultown.
42. Basil Coetzee (ts, f), Arthur Jacobs (ts), Robbie Jansen (as), Lionel Beukes (b), Nazier Kapdi (dm).
43. Abdullah Ibrahim's composition is spelled "Mannenberg", although it is dedicated to Manenberg, one of the poorest townships to which people classified coloured were relocated between 1966 and 1970. The spelling adopted by Abdullah Ibrahim may – consciously or not – evoke *Manne-Berg*, the mountain of (real) men, ie. Table Mountain and the resilient oppressed people of Cape Town.
44. Oswietie is a contraction of the Afrikaans "ons weet nie" which means "we don't know"; according to Robbie Jansen: "When we were rehearsing we didn't think about a name and when we got our first gig we played and the people asked 'what is your name' and we said 'we don't know' and then, when we had to decide on a name, we had already told the people 'we don't know', so we left it like that" (interview with Robbie Jansen recorded in Cape Town, 7 October 2004).
45. Interview with Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse, recorded by the author in Johannesburg, December 1990, and published in French as part of: Denis-Constant Martin, "*Afrique du Sud : des musiciens parlent*", *Jazz Magazine*, 415, May 1992: 48–51.
46. Steve Gordon, "Sakhile (South Africa)", http://www.music.org.za/Artist.asp?ID=170; accessed 07/01/2011.
47. Paul Alexander, "Sakhile stay faithful to their musical vision", *Weekly Mail*, 22 November 1990.
48. Interview with Basil Coetzee, recorded at his home, Rocklands, Cape Town, 24 August 1994.
49. Ibid.
50. Barbara-Ann Boswell, "In it for the music, Hilton Schilder", *South*, 4 February 1994.
51. Interview with Robbie Jansen recorded in Cape Town, 7 October 2004.
52. Liner notes for the album *Sabenza*, Cape Town, Mountain Records, 1987.
53. Derived from an isiXhosa word for work (Ansell 2004: 207).
54. *Uhuru* means freedom and independence in Swahili, a language widely spoken in East Africa.
55. http://www.shifty.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=; accessed 04/02/2011.
56. A cultural boycott of South Africa was first called for by the United Nations in 1968; artists were required not to perform in South Africa. After 1988, it was extended to all cultural and academic activities and discouraged not only visits but any form of collaboration with South African organisations or institutions. See: "The UN's long campaign against apartheid", *UNESCO Courier*, February 1992, republished at: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1310/is_1992_Feb/ai_12135087/pg_2/?tag=content;col1; accessed 07/02/2011.

57. http://www.mountain.co.za/intro.asp; accessed 12/01/2011.
58. See: Field nd.
59. Established in 1959 as a University College for coloureds, UWC gained university status in 1970. In 1975 a black rector was appointed. In 1982 UWC categorically rejected apartheid and adopted a declaration of non-racialism.
60. See: Field nd.
61. "I do not really think apartheid affected me, because I was living in my own world. I did not understand why people were suffering. It is only now that I think people were suffering, but I never thought about it" (quoted in Devroop & Walton 2007: 43).
62. Gideon Nxumalo's *Jazz Fantasia* was recorded during a performance given at the University of the Witwatersrand on 8 September 1962, with Kippie Moeketsi, Dudu Pukwana, Martin Mgijima and Makaya Ntshoko. The tape was released on CD by Teal Records in 1991. The quotation from "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*" can clearly be heard at the end of track 5, "Second Movement, 'Home at Night'".
63. See: Percy Mabandu, "Lefifi Tladi & Dashiki as a unique avant-garde in South African Art of the 70s", *Dashiki Dialogues*, 17 March 2009 (http://mabandu.wordpress.com/2009/03/17/lefifi-tladi-dashiki-as-a-unique-avant-garde-in-african-art-of-the-70s/; accessed 08/02/2011). Capetonian saxophonist Ezra Ngcukana played at times with Dashiki (Rasmussen 2003: 188).
64. See: Steve Gordon, "Basil Mannenberg Coetzee, A Struggle Biography", http://www.music.org.za/Editorial.asp?ID=17; accessed 10/09/2010.
65. Steve Gordon: "The last blow for freedom", *Mail and Guardian on line*, 7 August 2010 (http://www.mg.co.za/article/2010-08-07-the-last-blow-for-freedom; accessed 8/10/2010).
66. Steve Gordon: "The last blow for freedom", *Mail and Guardian on line*, 7 August 2010 (http://www.mg.co.za/article/2010-08-07-the-last-blow-for-freedom; accessed 8/10/2010); this song can be heard at the end of the film by Jimi Matthews retracing, under the same title, the history of South African musics: *How I'd Love to Feel Free*, Cape Town and London, Penumbra and BBC, 1989, as well as on Robbie Jansen's *Vastrap Island*, Cape Town, Mountain Records, 1989.
67. Interview with Duke Ngcukana, recorded in Cape Town on 20 November 2007.
68. "A journey through MAPP", *Music Action for People's Progress*, Cape Town, MAPP, ca. 1992: 14.
69. Interview with Duke Ngcukana, recorded in Cape Town on 20 November 2007.
70. A fusion of choral music, jazz and *marimba* bringing more than 100 people on stage at the same time.
71. Duke Ngcukana and Chorimba, Robbie Jansen, Hilton Schilder, Jack Momple, pianist George Werner, Alvin Dyers, drummer Stix Mwrebi, bassist Alistair Andrews, singer Sylvia Mdunyelwa, Winston Mankunku Ngozi, Tete Mbambisa, bassist Spencer Mbadu, trumpeter Feya Faku, Amampondo, Peto, Basil Coetzee and Sabenza, and Ezra Ngcukana and Moment's Notice.
72. Interview with Vincent Kolbe, Cape Town, 28 November 2007.
73. Interview recorded on 6 November 2007, at Solms Wine Estate, Groot Drakenstein, reproduced in Martin 2009.
74. Interview with Duke Ngcukana, recorded in Cape Town 20 November 2007.
75. Colin Miller, http://www.jazzrendezvous.co.za/readarticle.php?artcl=00000029; accessed 29/04/2010.
76. Interview with George Werner, recorded in Cape Town 2 November 2007.
77. Ibid.

78. Interview with Duke Ngcukana, recorded in Cape Town on 20 November 2007.
79. Interview recorded on 6 November 2007, at Solms Wine Estate, Groot Drakenstein, reproduced in Martin 2009.
80. Colin Miller, http://www.jazzrendezvous.co.za/readarticle.php?artcl=00000029; accessed 29/04/2010.
81. See chapter 6.

SECOND INTERLUDE

Chris McGregor Talks about the Blue Notes, Jazz and South African Society



Chris McGregor (1936–1990), piano player, band leader and composer who gathered musicians from all Cape Town communities in the early 1960s.

The following pages are made up of extracts from an interview recorded by Denis-Constant Martin with Chris McGregor in Polegate, Sussex, United Kingdom, in 1971[1].

One had to be rash to play in a group like the Blue Notes at the time. We managed to not really infringe the laws. In the Cape the areas we played weren't the object of strict racial segregation at *that* time. There was a zone which had not yet been really classified racially and it was there that we played, in one of the numerous Indian restaurants where anyone could come and eat. There were people of Asian origin on the town council of Cape Town, although some time after they were pushed out and the central government became stricter. We had of course no government grants, but at least our public were very supportive. Jazz was popular. There were some excellent white musicians, notably Morris Goldberg, a saxophonist who now teaches in New York – he also played with Dollar Brand. And George Kussel, a bassist […] But the main movement came from the black musicians – when I say black you have to understand that people were divided by the government into categories: Asiatics, Europeans, Cape Coloureds, etc. The black musicians were the most oppressed by western civilisation as it was expressed there. It was really they who set the tone. They

devoted themselves entirely to the music, whilst the white musicians often had day-jobs that enabled them to earn a living. I understood that to survive by making music there was only one solution – to go on tour with a group well enough knit so as to be constantly "on the road". It was partly this that led me to the black musicians. In the circumstances, *because* they had no other outlets, they were all professionals.

Later on tour with the Blue Notes we played in the townships to mixed audiences. In each town we had allies and everything remained underground so as not to draw the attention of the authorities – we were always afraid that the police would come and ban the concerts. We succeeded partly because we moved fast and we had friends everywhere, but it was exhausting. For several years we were on the road all the time, and we had to cope with the complete apartheid structure – which means that you land in one place and find that you're all sleeping in one house and putting someone at risk or else you're staying ten miles apart and losing contact to that extent. We used to dream of an alternative way of pursuing our lives. At that time the government was fascist – Nazi even – one has to realise, and all cultural happenings were closely surveyed. I remember concerts where, on lifting my head from the piano, I became aware of a row of policemen behind the audience. As we were separated from these policemen by several hundred enthusiastic spectators the risks were limited – the police were aware that if they had stopped us from playing at this point they would have had a riot on their hands. At the end of the concert while they discussed what action to take, we had time to rush to our bus for the next lap of our trip. We had to become specialists in dodging and camouflage. Always having to prepare ourselves in these precautionary ways was exhausting; there was nowhere where we could ever really relax.

You have to remember that in South Africa at this time blacks owned absolutely nothing. They had nothing that would allow them to create a black economic power – only the strength of their work force. They didn't own land – the idea of Bantustans allowing a separate development of the races was just a bad joke – the amount of land that they covered being nothing like sufficient to support their populations. It was a cynical scheme and not at all convincing. In the towns the majority of the population were completely deprived while the whites had a life of ease in no way corresponding with their contribution to the country's riches. It was an impossible situation because, as well, it was the blacks who were expected to make the effort to comprehend. The whites understood nothing of this and were very much discouraged from understanding anything about the blacks, about their traditions, their culture or their condition. Even for whites who were willing to know it was difficult even to *begin* to understand what was happening. It is very different now [1972] and one can do almost anything. Things have changed a lot […].

I grew up in a region where there were very few whites. Ours was the only white family in an immense area under tribal rule. Inevitably, my family had more to do with black families than with any other white families. Later on, coming from Pondoland to the town, I was in a position to understand things a little better. In the towns kids are actively discouraged from understanding. The economic power of the government is such that anyone persisting in trying to comprehend is likely to lose his livelihood. Life then becomes very hard – this in a country which from an economic point of view alone is immensely rich; I would say that from this point of view South Africa is more powerful than any European country. But the blacks have no part of this prosperity – until things change […]

It is difficult for me to say how jazz was introduced into South Africa in as much as I don't really have a definition of jazz as such. One could perhaps say that African music, coming into contact with modern technological society, tends to become something which one could call "jazz music". Historians talk readily about the melting pot that was New Orleans, and everything that took place there. I think that in the world there are other "New Orleans", especially in Africa. We were able to hear American records, which were played on the radio, but the traditional music has stayed extraordinarily alive, and continues to profoundly influence all musical happenings in South Africa. In any case, this music made its mark on me, even if unconsciously.

Notes

1. This interview was originally published in French as: "*McGregor: un souffle qui vient d'Afrique*", in the French *Jazz Magazine,* 209, March 1973: 16–19. The excerpts printed here are in Maxine McGegor's re-translation and have been taken from pages 43–46, 10 and 215 of McGregor 1995. They are reproduced with the kind permission of Maxine McGregor.

THIRD INTERLUDE

"Soweto Sun": An Interview with Rashid Vally by Denis-Constant Martin

Rashid Vally in a recording studio in the 1970s.

"Soweto Sun": An interview with Rashid Vally by Denis-Constant Martin, published in the French Jazz Magazine, *320, July–August 1983: 55 and 74 (translated by Thomas Rome, 2010)*[1].

Johannesburg doesn't look the way you'd expect. So-called 'petty apartheid' may be in camouflage, but the real oppression is ever more absolute. The city itself seems de-segregated, yet certain realities are unavoidable. To get to the Kohinoor Store, you pass not far from the ultra-modern city centre. But behind the museum, there's a street that's a sort of invisible barrier: on one side, a mixed crowd, and large colonial buildings; on the other, African passers-by and Indian shops. Rashid Vally's record shop is set up in one of these small streets. This forty-something Indian man, passionate about jazz, has an inventory that would be the envy of many a European or American colleague. He's also a producer and, in that capacity, he's considered responsible for bringing Dollar Brand back home to the South African public. And, more generally, Rashid Vally has strongly contributed to the dissemination of all of South Africa's black music in its own land of apartheid, creating a platform for making the music known, and loved. For reasons easily grasped, the present article will only treat the subject of music; but this music speaks, and unforgettably.

It all started in my father's shop. It was a grocery, but there was also a shelf of records, where he sold recordings of Indian music. At that time, I was listening to Louis Armstrong, Louis Jordan, that sort of music. I would bring the records to the shop and play them for my own pleasure, but people would come in and want to buy them. So I started selling some, so as to be able to buy new ones. By the time I left school, in 1956–1957, I suppose you could say I had started in the record business.

At the beginning of the sixties, I had also started to record South African dance bands such as El Ricas or the High Notes. They played what's called *langarmmusiek* in Afrikaans, at "square dances" – of course these were coloured bands, but they were very little influenced by jazz. Amongst the musicians in those groups there was a great tenor saxophonist called Paw Paws. In that period soul music had become all the rage. So I recorded South African soul music groups. I was only drawn into the jazz life later on, after getting to know musicians like Gideon Nxumalo, Lionel Pillay, both of them pianists, and Early Mabuza, a drummer. They got together on Sundays for jam sessions, workshops if you like, and that's where I heard Dollar Brand for the first time with a group called the Jazz Epistles with, besides Dollar on piano, Hugh Masekela on trumpet, Kippie Moeketsi on alto and Jonas Gwangwa on trombone. So I started to record jazz groups and, in 1971, I asked Dollar Brand to record for me, and we did the album *Peace* [*Dollar Brand + 2*]. Ever since, despite the fact that he lives in New York, we've remained partners. In 1974, whilst he was in South Africa for a time, we recorded "Mannenberg", which was a huge hit in South Africa – in this country alone it sold more than 50 000 copies. The funniest thing was that after we'd finished the session I went looking around to several big record companies to offer them distribution of the record. I was only asking them for R100 advance, and they all turned me down, saying it was too much for a group of South African musicians. So I distributed the record myself, and in the first week alone I sold three or four hundred copies. The companies came back to me then, wanting to take it, but at that point I wasn't asking one hundred rands …

With "Mannenberg", Dollar Brand put paid to a number of myths. First of all, everything had been done so quickly; he composed the tune in the studio and the whole process took just three-quarters of an hour. Dollar never understood why it should take two months to record a piece of music. And secondly, until "Mannenberg", South African jazz musicians defined themselves in terms of American influences. Dollar, though, although he listens to a great deal of American music, has always kept to his African roots. When he conceived "Mannenberg", he mixed different currents of African music with South African jazz, and when the

record came out it was for many South African listeners like a breath of fresh air. People said, "Eh! That's the sound I heard when I was a kid". Naturally, the other musicians contributed to the success of that record – Basil Coetzee, who's since been given the nickname "Mannenberg", Robbie Jansen … and you also hear a second alto player named Morris Goldberg, uncredited on the sleeve notes, and he's white. In any event, the group worked well. After "Mannenberg" there was a small musical revolution, as many groups started playing music in this township bag: Tete Mbambisa, Pat Matshikiza, Kippie Moeketsi ….

Today, most of the good jazz musicians have passed on or left for abroad. In South Africa there are very few jazz concerts and the musicians have very few places to play, with the exception of a few white clubs where they can play on weekends. Because of disco's popularity, they're forced to abandon jazz and play disco. Still, though, at my place people come in to buy disco but come back to buy jazz because that's all I play in the shop. They discover this music and end up liking it. Other than that, we sell an enormous amount of swing music, maybe more than anywhere else in the world, and a little free jazz, but only to a small number of people. What sells is reggae, because the customers identify with the social aspirations found in the words of the songs. Anyhow, some of Peter Tosh's albums have been banned here. Yes, and singers like Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbulu have always done well. I'm placing a lot of hope in a group called Movement in the City, led by the pianist and arranger Lionel Pillay. They've made two records with me.

Notes

1. This article was written following a short visit by the author to Johannesburg and Pretoria in 1981. Chris McGregor had advised me to try and talk with Rashid Vally. I went to his shop, asked for an interview, which he immediately agreed to give me. But he insisted that we go out and sit in his van, parked in the street, to avoid any trouble. The interview has been published in French and re-translated into English by Thomas Rome, a friend of Rashid Vally's, whose translation is reproduced here with his kind permission.

CHAPTER FIVE

Two Decades of Freedom

On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela walked out of the Victor-Verster Prison in Paarl a free man. A few days before, State President F.W. de Klerk had announced that the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were unbanned. This ushered in a new era, and after protracted and difficult negotiations a new constitutional and civil dispensation was endorsed in 1994 by the first elections held in South Africa under universal franchise, then enshrined in the 1996 constitution, which includes an exceptionally liberal Bill of Rights. Political changes that took place between 1990 and 1996 drastically modified the conditions of music-making in South Africa. The abolition of all apartheid laws meant that contacts between people, in other words between musicians and between members of audiences, became completely unrestricted. The categorisation of music according to the "group" in which musicians were classified ceased to govern music programming on radio and TV or music recording by major recording companies. It also allowed for the introduction into South Africa of musics from outside and made it possible for South African audiences to discover foreign artists who, until the early 1990s, had abided by the cultural boycott or had been forbidden to enter the country[1]. Indeed, it gave exiled South African musicians the possibility of returning to their motherland and re-settling there if they wished. The 1990s were in many respects a time of openings, (re-)discoveries and opportunities; a time when it seemed possible for music to benefit from a new creative momentum, nourished by new contacts and appropriations. The 1990s and 2000s were actually a time of musical effervescence but, although conditions had changed, creation was not really made easier in the new dispensation.

The abolition of apartheid laws did not make the consequences of apartheid disappear as by the stroke of a magic wand. If black citizens could now buy or rent property in formerly "white zones", only the well-off managed to do so; the great majority of the poor remained locked up in their townships, where

services and amenities did not always improve significantly. As a consequence, intermingling developed mostly among the affluent who lived side-by-side in the same neighbourhoods, worked in the same offices, and whose children studied in the same schools or colleges. With a few exceptions, major music halls and clubs continued to be located in town centres or affluent districts, which were not easily accessible to the underprivileged living in distant suburbs. David B. Coplan remarked that: "The cross-racial socialising that had served as a political statement in the 1970s and 1980s managed, for a decade or so, to survive in mixed nightspots" (Coplan 2008: 342) such as the old Bassline in Melville, Johannesburg, or Kippie's in Newtown, Johannesburg; but most of these places were ridden with problems that forced them to move or close down. Music places were created or maintained with a certain success in Gauteng black townships, but not so easily in the Western Cape. In addition to that, post-apartheid South African governments did not make culture one of their priorities. A national Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology was created to replace the eleven racially and ethnically based departments that had previously handled the arts. A White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, published on 4 June 1996, acknowledged that: "South African composers, sculptors, singers, choristers, dancers, artists, photographers, musicians, writers and designers have done us proud. They played an important role in the quest for democracy. They are world class and have the power further to enrich our experience." It also emphasised that: "[…] all forms of dance, music and theatre are recognised as legitimate components of our cultural heritage"[2]. It announced the establishment of a National Arts Council dedicated to allocating public subsidies to artistic activities and projects. Yet most artists and cultural activists got the feeling that neither the national government nor the Western Cape provincial government really cared for them. Many share the point of view that David B. Coplan bluntly expressed: "[…] the Ministry of Arts and Culture has become a department of marquee events, ploughing funds not into grass-roots cultural developments or support for cultural industries like music or theatre, but into opening ceremonies for sporting events and UN summits, or tourist attractions like the palaeo-anthropological Cradle of Humankind" (Coplan 2008: 403). The paradox of the 1990s was that South African authorities did not take over when foreign NGOs who had supported cultural activities before 1990 decided to discontinue their assistance because the country had become a democracy. Artists, including musicians and cultural activists, were left to themselves. In order to make a living and fund their projects they had to look for commercial success or rely on sponsorship by private corporations.

Radio and television were also reorganised after 1990. The SABC lost its monopoly and new TV channels were granted licences. SABC 1, 2 and 3 were distinguished by language use: SABC 1 broadcasts primarily in Nguni languages and in English; SABC 2, in English, seSotho and Afrikaans; and SABC 3, in English and Afrikaans. This linguistic distribution broke with the former "racial" specialisation and programmes were opened to local and international realities; television's language policy was in effect revolutionised; new faces, speaking many of the eleven national languages, appeared on the screen in previously unseen situations. A new generalist channel, the privately owned e.tv, started to operate in 1988 as a free-to-air television station. And subscription channels offered by another private company, M-Net, multiplied. Whether public or private, television became completely commercial, and neither culture nor creative music received much exposure in the reformed programmes. Regarding radio, the situation is more complicated. The liberation of the airwaves caused a boom in the creation of stations, some generalist, some specialised by language, religion or interest. Music is of course omnipresent in radio programmes, but again commercial interests prevail and only a few stations allocate air time to creative music. The SABC's Radio 2000 regularly broadcasts Eric Alan's programme *Jazz Rendez-Vous*. On Cape Town airwaves music is taken seriously by Bush Radio, a community multilingual station dubbed as "the mother of community radio"[3], and Fine Music Radio, a privately sponsored station transmitting from the Artscape Theatre in Cape Town, which describes itself as: "[…] a community radio station that takes great pride in presenting music that is enjoyed by discerning lovers of both classical and jazz music"[4].

David B. Coplan suggests that the early 1990s were marked by: "[…] both a new political and stylistic ambivalence in South African black popular music" (Coplan 2002: 4) and intimates that it opened a period of "(con)fusions" (Coplan 2008: 340). His assertions are corroborated by points of view expressed at various times by musicians or attentive observers of the South African music scene. Pianist Rashid Lanie, who was at the time an official of the South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA)[5], considers that: "Today, music in South Africa is, like the country as a whole: in a very complicated, very confused situation. It suffers from a lack of orientation. It cannot ascribe itself a direction. Art always reflects the atmosphere of a society; art can even create the atmosphere of a society. Our art finds itself in a transitory situation. It is impossible to discuss music in South Africa without taking this context into account."[6] The lack of orientation and direction musicians felt at the beginning of the 1990s eventually evolved into the

adoption of a great diversity of orientations and directions. The uncertainties of the immediate post-liberation period were overcome by the freedom to choose, to combine, to create. Yet, freedom to choose has not been strongly sustained by material support, which made Paul Sedres, then the Listening Lab administrator at the UCT College of Music, and an expert on Cape Town musics, think that: "We're seemingly in a time in our society, where […] creativity is stifled […] and it's a situation that is getting worse" (quoted in Ndzuta 2007: 34).

In a nutshell, the 1990s and 2000s have been characterised by a couple of opposing forces. Liberation has re-opened contacts with the world that allowed musicians to have access to forms of music they were cut off from during apartheid, as well as to position themselves on the world stage. Liberation created a space for new combinations and original creations from new mixtures. It also created a need to reassess what it means to be a South African musician. On the one hand, many artists wanted to be rid of any label or category and be considered as members of a universal community of musicians. On the other hand, a large number attempted to reconfigure their identity by shedding the one they had been ascribed by apartheid and imagining a new one based on a recovery of histories and roots they had been deprived of. According to Gwen Ansell, the fall of apartheid entailed a renewal of the very notion of roots: "Apartheid defined ethnic identity as restrictive, closing those who embraced it off from other identities and from the possibility of growth through contact. Many of the most positive recent musical developments have grown from the breaking down of the barriers of genre and ethnicity raised by apartheid. In this new context, it is possible to embrace roots proudly, without closing any doors" (Ansell 2004: 297). During a seminar he gave at the University of Paris 8-Saint Denis in 2006, saxophonist Zim Ngqawana insisted on his desire to be considered as a musician free of any type of categorisation, and declared that the sounds of wind and breath, being universal, should be the model for any music. He also told Gwen Ansell: "I'm getting more interested in new ways of giving the music a Xhosa cadence. I'm trying to phrase it the way my father would have sung a hymn" (quoted in Ansell 2004: 297). Many musicians could have made similar declarations, which are not as contradictory as they sound, a position which Zim Ngqwawana articulated quite clearly: "I don't care about musical theories; they're only noise. I'm interested in the sound and it does not matter to me if it is African or not. When you breathe, you don't breathe South African or French! However, the recordings I have done use sounds of the street, of the church, of the people I interact with […] There is no way we can forget about our history. I know what it means to be black in South Africa."[7] To

be a musician in a universal sense implies to infuse something particular into one's music. Particularities that can enrich a universally shared music need to come from local experiences and memories. Memory transforms experiences and histories to make them relevant and significant in a present situation; roots, like traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Ranger 1993), are consequently re-invented and the process of re-invention appears to be one of the possible engines of music creation in post-apartheid South Africa. The interlacing of a desire for universality and a longing for roots lies at the heart of South African music production in the 1990s and 2000s. In Cape Town, music production can be envisioned as a continuum stretching from transforming continuities to the emergence of new trends, progressing by trial and error through uncertainty and confidence.

Transforming Continuities

The liberation of South Africa from apartheid and the advent of a democratic political regime did not upset the musical practices that Cape Town previously accommodated. Changes in the conditions, especially the financial conditions, in which music is performed did not drastically alter the styles of performance or the intrinsic characteristics of the music, although significant evolutions occurred in particular domains.

Klopse, *Sangkore*, Christmas Choirs and *Langarm* bands

Both the local authorities and the intellectual elites changed their attitude towards the New Year festivals during the 1990s. Many of those who had been hostile to the *Klopse* because they assumed they gave a "bad image" of the community or because they played "fools" for the "enjoyment of the white *baas*"[8], revised their opinions in a situation where identity issues were construed in different perspectives and where local cultures in general were reassessed and re-appropriated. The idea that the Coon Carnival – renamed Minstrel Carnival or *Klopse Karnaval* for the sake of an American-influenced political correctness – provided a positive illustration of a Capetonian creole culture eventually prevailed over the notion that it embodied a separate "coloured culture", in the sense apartheid authorities had tried to impose. Seen from that angle, Cape Town's carnival no longer appeared to be a shameful display of "alienation" but a renewal festival akin to innumerable rites celebrated across the world. The *Klopse Karnaval* was legitimised when President Nelson Mandela appeared at the Green Point Stadium on 1 January 1996, clad in a satin

green, black and gold minstrel uniform (the colours of the ANC), and delivered a speech in which he praised the hard work that made it possible to place before the public the culture of this "important community". Nelson Mandela's endorsement of the festival was subsequently acknowledged by several troupes that paid tribute to the first president of a free South Africa[9]. The legitimation of the carnival was completed in 2010–2011 with the exhibition organised at the Castle by the Iziko Museums of Cape Town under the title: "*Ghoema* and Glitter, New Year Carnival in Cape Town"[10].

Political changes directly impacted on the organisation of the New Year carnival, and in particular on the possibility of holding the *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* parade in the town centre. In 1968, the use of the Green Point Track had been forbidden to Coon troupes because Green Point had been declared a "white area". In 1976, based on regulations prohibiting gatherings under the Riotous Assemblies Act (No. 17, 1956), an edict was adopted banning all marches in Cape Town's centre. Consequently the 2 January parades were suspended from 1977 until 1989 when troupes were allowed to march from Keizersgracht to Green Point via the Grand Parade, the town centre and the Bo-Kaap. In Green Point, competitions were held at the old Cycle Track or more recently at the Green Point Stadium (Martin 1999: 152–159; Martin 2005). For several decades concurrent carnivals had been organised by rival "boards", without support from the city council, the latter, and especially its traffic department, generally trying to put spokes in the wheels of boards and troupe captains. A first attempt at gathering troupes under a "captains' board" independent from the promoters who traditionally organised competitions at stadiums was made in 1994 when the Cape Town's Original Coon Carnival Board was launched. It established a new relationship with the successive Cape Town city councils and eventually gave birth in 2006 to a unified Cape Town Minstrels Carnival Association, on the board of which sat two nominated city councillors. Betting on the capacity of the Carnival to attract foreign tourists and generate profits for the local economy, the city council and the provincial government decided to contribute to the Carnival's budget and included the "Cape Town Karnaval" among its officially sponsored "Great Events" under the heading "Arts and Culture"[11]. Subsidies from the city council and the Western Cape provincial government, new possibilities of corporate sponsorship, and the growth in troupe membership exacerbated rivalries caused by differences in tolerance towards the participation of gangsters and drug dealers in the leadership and membership of troupes. The multiplication of dissensions provoked a split in the unified organisation. In 2011, two carnivals were organised by the two main

associations: the Cape Town Minstrel Carnival Association led by Richard "Pot" Stimmet, whose 36 teams met at the Athlone Stadium, and the Kaapse Klopse Karnaval Association, created by Melvyn Matthews and Suleiman Paromano, which gathered about 50 troupes drawn from 17 farms in the Winelands and held its competition at the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone. A third, much smaller organisation, the Cape District Association, held its own competitions at the William Herbert Sports Ground in Wynberg. This situation prevails at present. All the troupes come together for the 2 January Parade and the winners of the two main carnival bodies meet for a "Champion of Champions" contest.

The successive city councils that ruled Cape Town after 1994 shared the idea that the Coon Carnival could become a picturesque symbol of the city's history and culture that would attract foreign tourists. Images of banjo-playing minstrels multiplied on official publications and tourist brochures. This conception of the carnival is quite contradictory to the realities of the *Kaapse Karnaval* as it has been practised since the beginning of the 20th century. Based on a partial understanding of the Rio de Janeiro Carnival, the municipal authorities basically see the carnival as a show, and underestimate its social significance. They think they can use and re-organise a people's festival to make it more orderly[12]. They tried to channel and restrict parades in the town centre[13] and made it impossible for the *Klopse* to use the new Green Point Stadium built for the 2010 soccer World Cup[14]. In order to solve the many problems it is confronted with in its dealing with carnival organisers and revellers, the city council would like to put the carnival into the hands of an "event organiser", a solution that meets with the opposition of the carnival community and would mean a definite break with what is generally considered as the "*Klopse* tradition"[15]. The 2010 FIFA World Cup served as a pretext to try and launch a "Cape Town Carnival" (CTC), staged in March, organised by personalities coming from the business and marketing sectors at the initiative of the provincial government. Conceived as a tourist attraction supposed to stimulate economic and social development, the main stage of this totally artificial event is supposed to be Long Street. Commenting on the first edition of this "Carnival", carnival student Tazneem Wentzel wrote: "The route has no history. Instead, Long Street would become the ideological accommodation in which an official story was being narrated by industry professionals. The CTC was temporally regimented, and sanitised from the messiness of history" (Wentzel 2011)[16].

However, for the time being the *Klopse* and *Nagtroepe* still control what happens in their midst and whatever changes have occurred in performance styles and music result from internal dynamics. There is in the 2010s a greater number of troupes

than in the 1980s, and their size tends to be larger. This makes the *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* parade more difficult to organise (revellers have to come by bus from the townships where they live and then to board the buses again to get to the peripheral stadiums where competitions take place) but, once it has started, more impressive. One of the most striking evolutions that can be noticed is the transformation of the facial make-up. Originally painted in black and white, in imitation of American minstrels, the faces of the revellers are now decorated in a wide array of brilliant colours often enhanced with a sprinkle of sparkling particles. There has also been a renaissance of the Atjas, who had almost disappeared at the beginning of the 1990s, and majorettes with twirling batons and flags have made a visible come-back. Musically, the *Klopse*'s eagerness to absorb and recycle any novelty on the world stage has kept them in tune with what has been happening elsewhere: rap, disco and techno have been added to older styles and are performed along with them.

There has been a marked trend to replace bands accompanying singers on stage by backing-tracks pre-recorded in studio on synthesisers (Gaulier 2007: 48–51), but brass bands are still an important feature of the marching competitions and of the street parades. Melvyn Matthews launched a Western Cape Street Bands movement, supported in part by the provincial government, that contributes to attracting and training young instrumentalists who later join the carnival bands. Many of these street bands borrowed from American marching bands a set of small tom-tom drums attached to the waist of the percussionist, which allows him or her to produce melodic rolls and vary the rhythms played when parading. These drums can now be seen in carnival bands where they play the *ghoema* beat but also many other rhythmic formulae coming from the United States or Brazil. Finally, both *Klopse* and *Sangkore* now make more frequent allusions to African people, especially in *moppies*, either by way of musical quotations ("*Mbube*", "Meadowlands", "*Shosholoza*", "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*", or riffs typical of *kwela* or township jazz) or in the lyrics, in a rather ambivalent manner in "*Die Vet Sangoma*" (The fat sangoma) sung by the Fabulous Woodstock Starlites in 2007 (Gaulier 2009: 126-128) or in an indisputably positive way in "*Vusie van Guguletu*" (Vusi of Gugulethu) performed in 2008 by the Netreg Community Klops[17].

The *Sangkore*, as *Nagtroepe*, have also been affected by new regulations governing their right to parade in the Bo-Kaap on New Year's Eve. Otherwise, neither their dressing style nor the organisation of their competitions have changed. Their repertoires have remained the same, and *moppies* have continued to record with humour evolutions in social life. It is in the composition of the orchestras backing the choirs that some changes have taken place. Traditionally, instruments

accompanying the singers were guitars, banjos, mandolins, cellos, and occasionally a violin and a double-bass; it is not infrequent now to see several violins and cellos and even, occasionally, a piano.

Christmas Choirs have undergone very few changes. Their repertoire now tends to include pieces adopted from American contemporary gospel; the solo item has gained more importance in competitions (Bruinders 2006–2007; Kierman 2009: 118–119) and bands perform in a wider range of situations: from old age homes to the Waterfront where they are invited to play carols during the Christmas season[18]. *Vastrap* continues to be the most popular dance at *langarm* parties, but, as always, *langarm* bands follow closely the evolutions of dancers' tastes and are proud to show their ability to answer to any demand. Tunes taken from jazz and now disco form an integral part of their repertoire. Some *langarm* bands also play *boeremusiek* for the "*Boere* community" and have had great success with their rendition of a popular Afrikaans song: "*Loslappie*". The Ikey Gamba band also showed their interest in Indian music and participated in a show called: "Where East Meets West" at the Three Arts Theatre in Plumstead[19].

The adoption by *Klopse* bands of American drum-belts playing North-American or Brazilian rhythms, the borrowing by Christmas Choirs of American contemporary gospel, and the inclusion of jazz and disco in the repertoire of *langarm* bands, although not totally new, illustrate a broadening of openings towards the world which appears to be a consequence of the liberation from apartheid. The extension of *langarm* bands' repertoire to *boeremusiek* and Indian music fits quite well within the all-rounder's approach to music these orchestras have always maintained. But changes in minstrel make-up probably signal the advent of new perceptions of colour which invite one to play with colours, to choose one's particular combination of colours, enjoy it and be proud of it. Finally, inclusion in the *Klopse* and *Sangkore* universes of musical or textual references to Africans may signify not only the acknowledgement of mutations that have modified political balances in South Africa, but also new attitudes towards people whose musical experiences can enrich the practice of carnival troupes and choirs.

Choirs

Makwaya, like *Sangkore*, have not changed significantly. They have, however, provided a model which universities and schools have emulated. Choirs which are not attached to a religious congregation can choose their repertoire from a variety of genres and sources. Contemporary American gospel again exercises a major

influence here, not only on what choirs sing, but on the ways non-religious pieces are arranged and on performance styles. This influence is now mixed unreservedly with choir traditions of Europe and of the white communities of South Africa. Choirs mix religious and lay, folk and classical, African, coloured and white, European, North and South American repertoires, and possibly others. This tendency has been encouraged by the National Eisteddfodd Academy, created in 1997, which organises regular competitions through which its mission of "inclusiveness" and "awareness and pride of our multicultural diversity" must be exemplified. Choirs, consider it a rare achievement to win a trophy at an Eisteddfodd competition, but just participating gives them an opportunity to hear other choirs sing a diversity of pieces in various styles; in that manner the Eisteddfodd Academy stimulates mixing and crossing-over[20].

In the Mother City, the University of Cape Town Choir boasts of being the "most diverse musical group on campus", and interprets "early classical, contemporary, African traditional, and everything in between, sacred and secular"[21]. However the best examples of the recent evolution of choirs are probably provided by two very different groups: the Fezeka High School Choir of Gugulethu, and the Libertas Choir of Stellenbosch. Fezeka High is located in the heart of Gugulethu, a poor African township. In spite of the conditions within which it has to operate, Fezeka tries not only to give students a decent education but also to help them develop their talents, which means to acquire self-confidence in what they can achieve. It is with this goal in mind that the choir has been created by Phumelele "Phumi" Tsewu, a professor of English and Arts, as an extra-curricular activity[22]. The exceptional quality of the choir has been recognised by several Eisteddfodd awards. But the variety of its repertoire also needs to be underlined. For, explains Phumi Tsewu: "We would sing anything from traditional to things that are purely classical". This could include Mozart, Johann Strauss, Händel, jazz standards, African-American spirituals, tunes by South African composers like John Knox Bokwe, and *moppies*. Actually, when the Fezeka choir represents the Western Cape in other parts of South Africa, they sing *moppies* which are, in the opinion of Phumi Tsewu, one of the most typical repertoires of the province. They collaborate with the UCT Jazz Big Band, and with Klopse choirs and *Sangkore*[23]. On the occasion of a festival concert given at the Joseph Stone Auditorium in Athlone on 24 November 2007, the Fezeka High School Choir sang "*Heimwee*" (Longing), accompanied by the Cape Philharmonic Youth Orchestra under the baton of Phumi Tsewu. The fact that an all African choir coming from one of the townships created according to the apartheid master plan decided to interpret what is generally considered as

an Afrikaner nationalist anthem is of particular interest. Set to music composed by S. le Roux Marais, the lyrics by J.R.L. van Bruggen describe the beauties of the veld, the grandeur of its sky and the glow of its eternal sunshine; they express a rejection of the materialism governing urban life[24]. In this context, singing "*Heimwee*" implies a will to share the land and to advance towards a common culture which will not be homogenous but will accommodate a diversity accepted by all.

These ideals also presided over the creation, in 1989, of the Stellenbosch Libertas Choir by the action group Women for South Africa, "to help create mutual understanding and trust among all South Africans". Placed from the beginning under the direction of Johan de Villiers, a professor of mathematics at the University of Stellenbosch, it numbers 110 members coming from diverse backgrounds and speaking Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa and seSotho. The choir's motto is "Freedom in Harmony", which invites a political interpretation as much as a musical one. Harmony resides both in the intricate polyphonies the choir interprets and in the passion for singing that binds its members, wherever they come from. Freedom is the liberty to be together and sing together, but also the liberty to interpret an extremely diverse gamut of musics. The Libertas Choir sings in Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, seSotho and other South African languages but also in Spanish, Portuguese and Russian; they perform African songs from South Africa, *moppies*, hymns and European classics, and create contemporary pieces such as the "*Messa da Boa Esperanza*" written by Lungile ka Nyamezele, based on a compilation by Gert-Jan Buitink, which uses the eleven official languages of South Africa. This is how the choir aims at being "representative of all the peoples of our country, bound together by a love of music and the gift to sing". Committed to the upliftment of previously disadvantaged communities, it supports social projects and makes a point of promoting "indigenous musical traditions" and of creating the conditions for new talents to blossom[25]. The Fezeka High School Choir and the Libertas Choirs are among the best examples of the evolution of choral singing in post-apartheid South Africa, but they are not unique. A passion for singing together unites all South Africans. Anybody can participate in a choir: singers do not need to be able to afford the price of an instrument; dedication and a reasonably good ear and voice suffice to be accepted into a choir. The variety of musics accessible to choirs is almost infinite and flows from a multiplicity of sources. Consequently choirs offer probably one of the situations where it is most easy to mix: to gather a diversity of individuals agreeing to enjoy themselves together by singing whatever can be sung, irrespective of its provenance, as long as it makes good music.

Qasidah bands

Taliep Peterson claimed to have initiated the move towards modern *qasidah*s with his record titled *Tribute*[26], and to have opened the door for people who wanted to experiment further. He may in fact have given legitimacy to a general trend towards the modernisation of *qasidah*s that gained momentum after 1990. Ismail Philander recalls that: "In the older days, you would find that the *qasidah*s will only use the drums … and then they would bring in the guitar, and the violin was also brought in at the time, and in the old Oesmaniyah's time, it was the piano accordion, and even the bass, it is how people feel. And as years went by it got more and more like a jazz type of thing coming in, and a rock type of thing, which we are totally against this type of music, getting people to jump up and dance, for us it's not … All the latest groups now, they also make use of the backtracking, they will play the backtrack and sing to it like a solo person."[27] The lyrics are written by *ulamas* (Muslim scholars) or lay poets, most of the time in Arabic or, when the author is not fluent in Arabic, in Afrikaans or English and then translated into Arabic, since the language of the Qur'an is thought to convey a spirituality that neither English nor Afrikaans possess[28]. However, Arabic texts are sometimes translated by the singers during their performances or in their recordings.

Musically, contemporary *qasidah*s are the outcome of intense processes of mixture. Onto a base made of material coming from Indonesia, the Middle East and North Africa have been added elements borrowed from *qawwali*[29], Arabic and Indian pop songs, and international variety songs. Vocal techniques influenced by the practice of *dhikr*, the cantilation of the Qur'an and the *adhān* (call to prayer) have been combined with manners of using the voice particular to the above-mentioned repertoires. Collective singing can be homophonic but now also in parallel voices and in responsorial form. Finally, modern *qasidah* bands use electric instruments: guitars, basses and synthesisers as well as beatboxes that have facilitated the introduction of Iberian and Latin rhythms. *Qasidah*s are basically defined by their lyrics; they may absorb any external influence as long as it does not affect the general mood of tranquillity and spirituality that they are meant to generate. *Qasidah*s were always cosmopolitan, but until the end of the 20th century they were mostly attuned to musics played within the *Umma*, the Muslim world. Today, the intensification of music circulation caused by new technologies of communication, and the reinsertion of South Africa into a world where musics are rapidly exchanged and mixed, have allowed *qasidah* musicians to answer a demand for modernity: they embody an Islam that is of today, they

incorporate musical elements coming from sources that are not necessarily Islamic, and include Muslim Capetonians in a contemporary world that is part and parcel of international modernity. Nevertheless, *qasidah*s are still considered as a form of music that is typically Capetonian. Raji Divajee sums it up: "The way we do our *qasidah*s, it's Cape Town."[30]

Jazz

After 1990, jazz regained an important popularity in South Africa. Places where musicians could play multiplied and giant festivals were created, such as the Cape Town International Jazz Festival which now attracts more than 30 000 festival goers[31]. Newspapers and magazines dedicated regular columns to this genre of music, even though radio and television never granted it much air time. In a way, jazz appeared to be the ultimate music for the Rainbow Nation, for it provided a space where people – musicians and audiences – could mix casually to play and enjoy all sorts of unusual combinations into which entered musical elements considered as typically South African and others coming from every part of the world. Jazz, once again, was "breaking barriers" and announcing the building of "new musical communities on African foundations" (Ansell 2004: 299). Yet, despite the interest aroused by jazz and the emergence of new styles, the authorities chose not to support musicians in a manner that would have encouraged the creation of a renewed form of South African jazz, in tune with a society in transformation. Jazz expert Tony McGregor remarked that: "Apart from a few [musicians] who, I think, as a result of their specific political connections, have done well, very creative, very beautiful people but who don't have those political connections have suffered, and really the democracy has not really been good for them. I think it's quite sad" (quoted in Roubertie 2006: 52). Clubs struggle to survive, concerts are few and musicians have to overcome serious odds in order to continue developing their art. In spite of these problems, jazz flourishes, and the uncertainties of the early 1990s have been overcome by "aesthetics of multiplicity", drawing from the infinite stock of musics that both liberation and technical progress now makes available to South African musicians. Lorraine Roubertie aptly notes that "[…] the absence of partitions between genres appears to be a factor promoting cohesion and exchanges" (Roubertie 2006: 73). The conclusions drawn by Lorraine Roubertie from her study of music released under the Sheer Sound label have a general validity for South African jazz in the 1990s and 2000s: as a consequence of the porousness of stylistic barriers, eclecticism prevails (Roubertie 2006).

Quite a number of Capetonian musicians have found an outlet for their productions in Sheer, a company launched by Damon Forbes in 1994 and not limited to Cape jazz (a stream that Mountain Records continues to promote). If musicians such as pianists Paul Hanmer and Wessel van Rensburg, guitarist Errol Dyers, saxophonist McCoy Mrubata and trumpeter Marcus Wyatt may sometimes instil in their compositions evocations of the *ghoema* beat or of the particular flavour of Cape Town melodies, these allusions appear as furtive reminiscences in musical discourses conceived in the aesthetics of modern jazz. Lorraine Roubertie underlined that the renewed popularity of jazz made the word itself encompass a much broader array of styles and even genres than had been present in America or Europe. As a matter of fact, jazz may encompass many types of music, ranging from what would elsewhere be called "easy listening" to modern, post-Coltranian jazz. The core of the music called jazz in contemporary South Africa is made of "mainstream jazz", meaning modern jazz influenced by American innovators from the 1950s to the 2000s, from Art Blakey and Horace Silver to Pharoah Sanders and Michael Brecker, and interweaved with many other influences. A good example of this multifaceted mainstream South African jazz is the CD *Malay Tone Poem* recorded by Capetonian pianist and composer Hotep Idris Galeta on the Sheer Sound label[32], with both Capetonian (Marcus Wyatt, drummer Kevin Gibson) and non-Capetonian (saxophonist Zim Ngqawana, bassist Victor Masondo) sidemen. Born Cecil Barnard in Crawford, Cape Town, Hotep Idris Galeta (1941–2010) was in the 1950s one of the up-and-coming pianists following in the footsteps of Abdullah Ibrahim. He left South Africa in 1961 and eventually became a lecturer in jazz studies at the University of Hartford's Hartt College of Music (Connecticut, United States). Hotep Idris Galeta came back to South Africa in 1991, and held several positions as the musical director for the Volkswagen sponsored "Music Active" performing arts educational programme for high schools, and as a lecturer in the music department at the University of Fort Hare (Alice, Eastern Cape). *Malay Tone Poem* offers an intriguing, although non-exhaustive, illustration of the diversity of sources from which South African musicians now get their inspiration. Cape Town and South Africa appear under the fragrances of an "eastern" tune and the solid rhythm of township jazz; references to modern American jazz go from Thelonius Monk to John Coltrane, via Horace Silver; the wider world is represented by Latin rhythms (bolero and samba); and the re-appropriation of the South African, and more specifically Western Cape, past is symbolised by the construction of a theme on a formula derived from the *uhadi* musical bow.

A Cape Town guitarist belonging to a younger generation, Wayne Bosch, explains the approach to music most South African jazz musicians now share: "Because we are becoming more informed about music and because we are beginning to realise that, if you look at how Brazilian music has evolved, that surely shows there is potential for our own music to evolve. Like classical music influenced jazz, classical music influenced the church, so do those styles of music today influence us […] There are strong rhythms in Africa, yet South Africa has been divided from the other parts of Africa and we are beginning to realise, if you want a music to evolve, apart from drawing from the rich harmonic source of jazz and classical music, we can listen to the other African states in order to enhance our own rhythmic feel."[33]

The musicians' knowledge of non-South African musics has been greatly enhanced by the consolidation and extension of jazz education in South Africa and especially in the Cape[34]. Cape Town pianist Merton Barrow was a pioneer when, against all the odds, he launched his Jazz Workshop in 1969. Pianist George Werner remembers: when Merton Barrow "[…] started the Jazz Workshop in 1969 there weren't any jazz schools around, there was not even jazz material. Somehow this guy, Merton … for the first time there was somebody who could actually teach you a bit about jazz."[35] The list of those whose attended the Jazz Workshop and became noted jazz musicians is quite impressive. In addition to George Werner, it includes, among others: guitarist and bassist Alistair Andrews; bassist, keyboards player and producer Steve Freedom; saxophonist McCoy Mrubata; singer Trudy Rushdin; trumpeter Blackie Tempi; and bassist Herbie Motlatsi Tsoaeli. Jazz education was institutionalised only 14 years later when, at the invitation of Professor Christopher Ballantine, Darius Brubeck, the son of American pianist and composer Dave Brubeck, opened a jazz course at the University of Natal's department of music. This served as the foundation stone for the creation in 1989 of a Centre for Jazz and Popular Music (Brubeck 1993; Roubertie 2012). Also in 1989, the University of Cape Town College of Music created a jazz department which now offers a Diploma of Jazz Studies and within which students and teachers have formed diverse combinations and orchestras[36]. Drummer Kevin Gibson, saxophonists Hylton and Shannon Mowday, drummer Frank Paco Mthembu, singer Melanie Scholtz, guitarist Selaelo Selota, pianist and vocalist Amanda Tiffin, saxophonist Buddy Wells and trumpeter Marcus Wyatt are among the musicians who appeared in these ensembles.

Private schools have also been created which are not specifically dedicated to teaching jazz, but where students can, in one way or another, familiarise themselves

with this music. This is the case of the Athlone Academy of Music, founded in 1996 as a school accessible to all persons irrespective of age, race or creed. Its director, the late Samuel J. Jonker, explained why he thought it necessary to create such an establishment: "These days it's worse than those days of apartheid: children start to play a music instrument but they don't have the knowledge or they cannot read music. And this is one of the main things why I started the school: to let the children learn to read music, to play an instrument, and also to do their grades."[37] When they have mastered an instrument and can easily read music, students may form various ensembles, including jazz orchestras. In the same spirit, Camillo Lombard, a renowned jazz pianist who served as musical director for the *The Kramer Petersen Songbook* (2007), founded in 2006 the Xulon Music Tech in Kensington, which was later renamed The Cape Music Institute (CMI). Courses at the CMI are open to new forms of music and encourage innovation, and the Institute is "[…] a place where raw talent and skill is identified and honed. It provides a forum and space for these talented youth to have their talents showcased and recognised. Their curriculum targets more than just music skill, but produces a well-rounded, well-adjusted young person that is able to enter into the music industry with confidence and knowledge."[38] Two years earlier, Abdullah Ibrahim opened his M7 (Music, Movement, Martial Arts, Medicine, Menu, Meditation, Masters) Music School on the fringes of the former District Six, but it does not seem to have been very dynamic[39]. One of the most interesting initiatives in this domain was the organisation by George Werner of the Little Giants. After having studied with Merton Barrow at the Jazz Workshop, George Werner taught there, then became an ensemble coordinator at MAPP. In 1999, he and saxophonist Ezra Ngcukana decided to create a group where young musicians could practise the fundamentals of jazz and also become the creative keepers of a Cape tradition. George Werner sees the Little Giants as a "little revolving door". Not one of the initial members is still in the band: when their training allows them to explore other avenues elsewhere, they spread their wings and fly, and younger people replace them. The Little Giants is actually growing and, says George Werner: "We are at the present moment sitting with a new programme. The idea is to go to Khayelitsha, we have already identified one school, we are going to train about 20 primary school kids from the age of eight to nine till about 14, and at that place we would also like to start a band and that band is going to be a feeder for the Little Giants, so that we don't have to look for members any longer. So if you are quite good, then you automatically end up playing with the Little Giants. And we shall have another pilot group in Landsdowne".[40]

In a similar vein, trumpeter Ian Smith trains young musicians from underprivileged areas in the jazz big band idiom. As the project manager for the Youth Music Development Programme in troubled communities on the Cape Flats, in 2008 he formed the Delft Big Band with youth from high schools in Leiden, Rosendal and Voorbrug. The programme aims to attract youth finding themselves in a state of great vulnerability and to offer them music as a way of acquiring valuable life skills. In 2011 more than 100 learners from these areas participated in the programme, of which the more advanced musicians made up the Delft Big Band[41]. The Little Giants and the Delft Big Band undeniably contribute to paving the way for Cape Town's jazz of tomorrow. Their role is made particularly crucial by the recent deaths of so many musicians who had been at the forefront of the defence of jazz under apartheid, and who had contributed to the perpetuation of a creative spirit invested in the invention of Cape Jazz and the instillation of a Cape personality in township jazz: Basil Coetzee (1944–1998), Winston Mankunku Ngozi (1943–2009), Tony Schilder (1937–2010), Robbie Jansen (1949–2010), Ezra Ngcukana (1954–2010), Hotep Idris Galeta (1941–2010) and Duke Ngcukana (1948–2011). Among the musicians who were active during apartheid there remain: Alvin and Errol Dyers, Spencer Mbadu, Mac McKenzie and Tete Mbambisa. An even older generation can sometimes be heard. In October 2007, on the occasion of a series of "Living Heritage Jazz Concerts" held at the Johnson Ngwevela Civic Hall in Langa and at the Nassau Auditorium in Newlands, "Cups and Saucers" Nkanuka once again put together a big band to play the type of African jazz Langa resounded with in the 1950s. For listeners and musicians born in the 1970s and 1980s, these concerts provided occasions to hear live the music their parents or grandparents enjoyed, one of the sources of both Cape jazz and township jazz from which they can imagine innovative languages. Alvin and Errol Dyers, and Mac McKenzie now appear as go-betweens who ensure that the memory of the diverse varieties of jazz played in the 1980s and 1990s is passed on to new generations.

The new generation of Cape Town musicians is not necessarily based in Cape Town. Some of them have moved to Gauteng or commute between Cape Town and Johannesburg. They are not imprisoned in a Cape Town "tradition", although they do not hesitate to allude to the Mother City when they feel like doing so. They share with other South African musicians the "aesthetics of multiplicity" that leads them to explore new paths and, simultaneously, to recover what they consider to be their "roots". Hotep Idris Galeta's *Malay Tone Poem* was a beautiful illustration of this approach, one that has been enlarged and enriched by younger

artists. Marcus Wyatt, who participated in the recording of *Malay Tone Poem* and contributes to Carlo Mombelli's avant-garde research[42], also seeks to infuse "African feelings" in his music[43]. Shannon Mowday introduces Congolese-like guitar riffs in African jazz, discreetly evoking the *ghoema* beat, and reveals herself as an outstanding modern jazz improviser[44]. The ingredients she uses are also found, along with many others, in the kaleidoscope of music bassist and composer Schalk Joubert manages to set in motion. He sprinkles, in various arrangements, *Klopse* music and *ghoema* beat, *marimbas* and African songs, Township jazz and Afro-beat, Afro-Cuban rhythms and modal scales along a road that goes from "smooth" to modern jazz via Afro-pop[45].

Another group of musicians toys with new possibilities of combination to explore yet unknown musical territories. Pianist and composer Paul Hanmer showed the way with *Trains to Taung*, which met with great success when it was released by Sheer Sounds in 1997[46]. Gospel chords *à la* Abdullah Ibrahim and the double tonic of Nguni polyphonies and musical bows serve as the yeast that causes the musical dough to rise. Jazz is the vehicle that carries the musicians on a quest for roots, spurred not by nostalgic or backward looking preoccupations, but on the contrary by a will to see into the future: "*Trains to Taung* was written soon after the period when I was having doubts about my music … I wanted to answer the question: where is Paul Hanmer from? Where are all of us from? One way to do that was to take very simple, age-old blocks – the I, IV, V, the *marabi* chords, which [are] a basic format for so much music that has come out of this country … in the way that, say, twelve-bar blues has become a format for so much that comes out of America. But I thought that it must be extremely old, because it relates to a lot of folk music from all over the world. It's like *marabi* is the mother of a lot of music … So, I thought, let me write something that is based on this chord progression, but it's got a few funny angles, and it's also quite sad, and the 12/8 groove – how slow it was – reminded me of a train. I thought of a train going back in time, to that place that marks how ancient is the African human heritage: Taung … the place where the Khoisan made the ancient elements of music, and the place where *marabi* came about is probably one and the same … it's an imagined space and time" (Paul Hanmer, quoted in Ansell 2004: 274–275).

Pianist Kyle Shepherd follows in the footsteps of Abdullah Ibrahim, but in a paradoxical movement in which his forward march is governed by the reassessment of Ibrahim's sources: be-bop and Methodist hymns. Kyle Shepherd's musical excursions take him out of Cape Town, and lead him to the rural areas of the north Western Cape and the Northern Cape where David Kramer recruited

musicians for *Karoo Kitaar Blues*. This allows him to make audible the link that ties rural *boere* (both coloured and Afrikaner) music, Cape Town carnival sounds, and modern jazz[47]. Pianist Wessel van Rensburg and McCoy Mrubata take this journey to another destination with *Kulturation*, a stop at Cape Town where they reconnect with Abdullah Ibrahim's visions of the city but set them in new colours by using sophisticated chords and timbre combinations, enriched by the voice of Jennifer Ferguson. Bill Evans' intricate harmonies and Abdullah Ibrahim's rhythmic articulation give an unusual dimension to sumptuous melodies such as "*Kinders van die Wind*", the most famous song by the star of *Musiek en Liriek*, Koos du Plessis[48].

Multi-instrumentalist Mark Fransman is one of the most active young musicians on the Cape Town scene. With Tribe[49], he keeps quite close to the post-Coltranian moods preserved by McCoy Tyner, but with Strait and Narro[50], a project involving seven musicians – among whom drummer Kevin Gibson, percussionist Frank Paco, singer Melanie Scholtz and saxophonist Buddy Wells – he starts from explicit references to his American spiritual fathers, John Coltrane and Horace Silver, to go towards hip-hop and trip-hop taking on the way a few things from soul and funk, not to forget township jazz, Abdullah Ibrahim and Hotep Idris Galeta, reworked with a tinge of electronics. Mark Fransman uses jazz "as a pivot point rather than a ball and chain" and feeds on the fertility of urban life in Cape Town: "a melting pot where young musicians can perform experimental works."[51] His turn of phrase precisely sums up what is now happening on the Cape jazz scene: new opportunities for learning music, new openings to musics from others parts of the world, a determined will to recycle musical roots and traditions, and imaginations that can blend everything together in creative ways are the features of the present stage of creolisation where the configuration of identities is totally within what Édouard Glissant called a "poetics of Relation".

Fusions and rock

Schalk Joubert, Wessel van Reensburg, McCoy Mrubata and Mark Fransman demonstrate once more that the dividing line between jazz and all the genres that can be thrown together under the label "popular music" is extremely fuzzy. The example of Tananas, one of the most celebrated fusion groups that have come out of Cape Town, confirms this. Tananas straddles the 1980s and the 1990s and its founders, guitarist Steve Newman, bassist Gito Baloi and drummer Ian Herman (who had played before with the Genuines) may be seen as relayers of music in

a time of social and political change. Tananas was created in 1987 and, although it did not live very long[52], manifested the will and the ability of South African musicians to enrich the musical material that could be used to devise original fusions. Steve Newman's virtuosity allowed him to merge rock, American and township jazz, country and western, flamenco, Congolese rumba as well as to reproduce the rattling strums of Cape banjos. Ian Herman mastered the hard, driving pulses of rock and rhythm and blues, but also the ternary accents of jazz, the cross-rhythms of African dance music and, of course, the *ghoema* beat. Gito Baloi, born in Mozambique brought an Iberian sensibility that infused in the group's music elements of samba and Afro-Cuban music, of Spanish and Portuguese folk forms. Tananas' productions never sounded like patchworks. They created original pieces communicating variegated atmospheres, within which could be fleetingly recognised, but not isolated, traces of the cultures from which they drew their inspiration, a sonic cocktail that pushed David B. Coplan to write: "Their music is seemingly impossible to describe accurately or fittingly […] full of twangy strings, up-tempo but meditative, shadowy and brooding, but bright and foot-tapping. The jazz feel is somewhere there but the melodies and rhythms somehow sing *die ou Kaap* like no other sound" (Coplan 2008: 354). It is precisely because they showed the way from *die ou Kaap* to *die nuwe Kaap* (from the old Cape to the new Cape) that Tananas was so acclaimed. More recently, guitarist, composer and singer Allou April, created another *nuwe Kaap* brew in which he fused gospel and soul music, R&B and smooth jazz, with possibly gentle evocations of Jonathan Butler[53], funk and township jive, not to forget *Klopse* melodies supported by the *ghoema* beat[54].

Although several of its members hail from Cape Town or the Eastern Cape and its promotional material underlines it was "born in 2002 out of the cultural hotbed that is Cape Town", Freshly Ground includes musicians from South Africa[55], Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and follows in the footsteps of Mango Groove. Freshly Ground does not display Cape Town influences in an obvious fashion. Aiming to be "the musical voice of a nation's adolescent democracy", it rather bases its own fusion of *mbaqanga*, township jive, reggae, American soul and R&B in order to "to craft music that is global in its outlook yet remains true to its roots in Africa", not just South Africa or Cape Town. It is probably because they have convincingly managed to achieve this *glocal* (global-local) ambition that they have appeared in South Africa and abroad as representatives of the new South Africa's pop music[56], a mission the trendy *Y Magazine* emphasised when it claimed: "Freshly Ground represents *mzansi*"[57].

The rock movement in the Western Cape has to navigate between the legacy of the *Voëlvry* movement and the need to update its Anglo-American references. The mother of post-apartheid Cape rock bands is probably the Springbok Nude Girls, a quartet[58] who appeared in Stellenbosch in 1994, and whose aesthetics was somewhat transformed by the addition of trumpeter and synthesiser player Adriaan Barnard. They alternate ballads, hard metal pieces and brash rock and roll, to which trumpet interventions add a jazzy dimension. And in their mixes, punk and *boremusiek* go together very well. They were voted the most popular rock band in South Africa in 2000 and have emerged as a model providing inspiration for younger aspiring musicians such as those who formed Bed on Bricks[59] in 2003. Bed on Bricks possesses a knack for weaving pretty melodies in a bluesy funk texture, and adorn the result with dashes of rap, reggae and country and western, an eclecticism they proudly claim[60]. Sons of Trout combines a sarcastic expose of the white elite's lifestyle and a mixture of musical symbols: quotation of "*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*", allusions to *boeremusiek*, vocal intonation evocative of African rural musics, Pentecostal songs, which leaves the listener with the feeling that their "musical interpellations are conflictual, irreconciled" (Ballantine 2004: 120).

Spingbock Nude Girls, Bed on Bricks, Sons of Trout sing in English. Afrikaans rock bands cannot avoid being placed in the shadow of the *Voëlvry* movement, but that also gives them a certain leeway to select between the different aesthetics that were embodied by Johannes Kerkorrel, Koos Kombuis and Bernoldus Niemand. The closest to the caustic and provocative humour of Koos Kombuis is *Fokofpolisiekar*[61] (Fuck off, police van), created in 2003 with the intention of mocking conservative Afrikaners. They play a brand of "classical" punk rock which primarily serves to propel comments on the evolution of South African society. Their lyrics can be heard as a contribution from young people to the debate on Afrikaner identity, especially when they deal with religion. Their rejection of traditional Christianity has caused outrage in many circles. Their greatest success, "*Hemel op die Platteland*" (Heaven in the countryside), asked: "*Kan niemand dalk 'n god bel / En vir hom sê ons het hom nie meer nodig nie?*" (Could somebody phone a god / And tell him we don't need him anymore?). This blasphemy did not stop the piece from becoming the first Afrikaans song to be played on 5FM[62]. In "*Hemel op die Platteland*", as well as in other songs, *Fokofpolisiekar* does not only gibe at conservative Christians, it expresses a general rejection of all forms of categorisation and routines. It conveys the Afrikaner youth's ambivalence about the new South Africa in a manner that has been followed, with a different musical orientation, by the Stellenbosch band *Zinkplaat*[63]. They share a taste for melodies

with *Fokofpolisiekar*, but tend to find their musical inspiration in Bob Dylan, American bluesmen and progressive rock as developed by Led Zeppelin. They mix joy and sorrow, nostalgia and youthful enthusiasm in a manner that, although songwriter Bertie Coetzee likes to evoke Koos Kombuis, is more reminiscent of Bernoldus Niemand. *Foto na Dans*[64] is considered more experimental, perhaps because of its use of electronics. They do play with sounds and timbres with a sophistication that demonstrates some familiarity with European "contemporary" composers, but preserve a rock beat that easily absorbs Mediterranean licks. *Foto na Dans* lyrics challenge the status quo, in a much softer manner than *Fokofdiepolisiekar*, but, like most other rock bands, appear to try and reconcile opposing attitudes. Musical critic Douglas Rodger considers that: "*Foto na Dans* are building on a theme, as one piece of darkly polished suburban existentialism follows another. All in Afrikaans, the lyrics express a kind of disillusionment, and an awareness of the tension which seems to be part and parcel of being one of the new generation of young Afrikaners."[65]

In Cape Town and Stellenbosch, English and Afrikaans rock bands[66] are together involved in the creation of new combinations which draw on both recent overseas trends and on the past of South African rock. Yet most of the members of the groups that were formed after 2000 never heard Bright Blue or the *Voëlvry* musicians live; they may even not be very familiar with their recordings. These "ancestors" float in the air, signifying that there is a history of rock in South Africa, and that it has bestowed on them a vocation to engage problems faced by the youth, at least by part of the youth, in a musical idiom that appeals to them. Bertie Coetzee, *Zinkplaat*'s singer and songwriter, acknowledges that: "It [the *Voëlvry* movement] had a great influence on everyone, but I can't say what influence, I don't think we understand that." He is more preoccupied with what happens in South Africa in the second part of the 2000s. Musically: "You can't help being influenced by all the music that you listen to, like international music and stuff, but again I think all the bands are playing together in Cape Town, English bands are playing with Afrikaans bands, and you get Afrikaans blues bands playing with English ska bands, so I think everyone is influencing each other, and I think the only difference is the language." Afrikaans lends itself to the writing of "sharp" lyrics which very often manifest the will of young Afrikaners to distance themselves from the generations of their parents and grandparents. But adopting a distanced posture is no easy task, and cannot lead to a total break. "I come from a traditional *boere* community," ponders Bertie Coetzee, "and then you don't agree with everything that's happening but still you gotta keep your identity, especially

at the moment everything is changing around and we don't have a say anymore. So now it's very difficult to still go against the people that's hanging on to the old nationalism. What do you want to do in the music? But still you know that you have to at least stand up for yourself as well, so now if you want to write a song and you want to say both things in the songs, it is getting a bit complicated […] because you think different but you are still one of them, it sounds a bit weird, you are still from there, it's your people so you can't just cut yourself off and everything … you must take them along with you and your ideas, and that's very difficult in song writing."[67] Trying to deal with these issues, the 2000s Western Cape rock movement seems to live its own life in relative isolation from other South African genres. Their music hardly, if at all, connotes South Africa or the Cape. Apart from subtle evocations of *boeremusiek* by the Springbok Nude Girls, most rock groups slide along an international continuum that goes from classical rock to metal and punk. For a number of them, South African-ness resides in the use of Afrikaans and the articulation of Afrikaner youth's concerns as to their place in the new South Africa. In this respect they definitely appear to be heirs to the *Voëlvry* movement.

"Art" music and opera

Composers who, before 1990, had experimented with the cross-fertilisation of African and European musical idioms appeared after the abolition of apartheid to be visionaries who had shown a way that could now be explored further and branched out in many original paths, guided by the principle clearly laid out by Hans Roosenschoon: that African music should not be treated as a colour, or be reduced to exotic motives, but should be considered as organic material, stimulating the imagination of musicians trained in European classical and contemporary music into inventing new forms and new sounds. Peter Klatzow combined the voices of the King's Singers (who commissioned the piece) and the sound of a *marimba* in *Return of the Moon* (1997). Hans Roosenschoon pursued his creative investigations with *The Magic Marimba* (1991) in which percussive instruments introduce an "African perspective" in themes adapted from Mozart's *The Magic Flute.* In *Kô, Lat Ons Sing* (Come, let us sing) for double choir he interlaces evocations of *isicathamiya* and *moppies* to highlight the poetry of Adam Small[68]. *Mbira* (1994) is a choral piece in which the voices are intertwined in the manner that instruments (not only *mbira* but many others, including musical bows) are in African polyphonies. Finally, among the great number of compositions penned

by Hans Roosenschoon after 1990, it is also worth mentioning two pieces sung by the Libertas Choir: *Ubuntu* (1996), the first part of a Human Rights Oratorio Commissioned by SAMRO for the Institute of Human Rights Education, and an adaptation of the popular "*Shosholoza*"[69] (1996).

Two major figures gained prominence in the world of Cape Town "art" music after the end of apartheid: Hendrik Hofmeyr and Michael Blake. Hendrik Hofmeyr[70] has written several orchestral compositions inspired by African music, for instance *Iingoma* (2000) and *Umculo Wemvula* (*Rainmusic*) (2001). He has also arranged Afrikaans and isiXhosa songs for choir. With his *Sinfonia Africana* (2004), he intends to convey a message of hope and "spiritual renaissance"; a symphonic orchestra, a soprano solo and a choir enmesh musical references to various musics of South Africa to give a particular resonance to three Afrikaans poems by Eugène Marais, D.J. Opperman, and C.M. van den Heever. The quest for a past that will never be completely recovered (D.J. Opperman's "Prayer for the Bones"[71]) leads to "an ode for the spiritual renewal" of the African continent by C.M. van den Heever[72]. Here the formal structure and compositional procedures (development of motivic cells; overlapping phrases) borrow from several African musics to fill a tonal scheme constructed on European harmonies. Africa literally underlies a symphony that pledges commitment to building the future of South Africa.

Musicologist Stephanus Muller contends that Michael Blake[73] is "the most important and most influential South African art music composer to have worked in South Africa since the advent of democracy"[74]. Born in Rondebosch and educated in part at UCT, he left for London in 1977 to avoid being conscripted into the border war (Muller 2011: 4). During his 20 years of residence in Britain, he never stopped composing with South Africa in mind. His *African Notebook* and *African Journal* displayed an unusual talent for finding and arranging original instrumental timbres, on the basis of dynamic principles setting in motion various African principles used in *mbira* music and *kwela*. Another musicologist, Martin Scherzinger, provides a precise description of Michael Blake's approach to African music in his analysis of *Let us Run out of the Rain*: "[…] a refracted paraphrase of Nsenga *kalimba* music from Zambia. The music filters and recombines typical *kalimba* [*mbira*] fingering patterns into novel fragments, which in turn articulate unpredictable formal episodes of call-and-response. By transferring the overtone-rich sounds of the *kalimba* to the time-worn blandness of the modern industrial piano, the music paradoxically conjures up the faded colours and open spaces of the southern African landscape" (Scherzinger 2005: 322). Other piano works by

Composers and pianists Paul Hanmer, Sibusiso Njeza and Michael Blake: a New Music Indaba at the keyboard.

Michael Blake are evidence of the desire to cross-fertilise playfully 18th and early 20th century European compositions (Johan-Sebastian Bach, Éric Satie, Igor Stravinsky, Arnold Schoenberg), American music (stride piano, Cole Porter, Charles Ives) and African pieces (from Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa) in order to set small melodic and harmonic motives against the backdrop of unpredictable rhythmic movements. According to Christine Lucia, Michael Blake's works for solo piano are "[…] deliberately produced now, in present-day South Africa, without much reference to the past; and it is as a very 'here/now' African composer that Blake speaks a global language"[75].

Michael Blake has also worked relentlessly to create a space for experimental music in South Africa, and to make it possible for black composers to participate in its development. This was one of the major objectives of the New Music Indaba, which he initiated and directed from 2000 to 2006 as part of the Grahamstown National Arts Festival. Through the successive Indabas, composers such as Phelenani Mnomiya, Mokale Koapeng, Andile Khumalo, Julia Raynham, Sibusiso Njeza and Paul Hanmer interacted with European and South African composers of note and were given the opportunity to create new pieces that were performed in public. From the New Music Indaba grew one of the most ambitious recent

musical endeavours: The Bow Project. Several South African composers[76] were invited to respond in their own ways to the music of one of the most famous *uhadi* (musical bow) players, Nofinishi Dywili. The Bow Project aspired to bridge what has been considered for too long as a gap between various genres of music: European "art" music, modern jazz and rural South African music. It created the possibility of a conversation of equals – the *uhadi* meets the bows of the string quartet – developing their own discourse in accordance and in harmony with their interlocutors' discourses[77]. Michael Blake's works illustrate the type of fertile connection that can be established between African orally transmitted music and western experimental music. In the latter aesthetics, African musical systems lead to the exploration of "dysfunctional harmony", cyclic forms, polyrhythms, pentatonic and hexatonic scales, and inspire the writing of original pieces in which fragments of African melodies and even birdsongs occasionally surface. Stephanus Muller underlines that: "Africa is present everywhere in Blake's music, but his music has moved beyond the exoticising of Africa into a genuine cosmopolitan outlook without Africa having disappeared from his work." He also emphasises the importance of Michael Blake's contribution to keeping new music alive in South Africa: "If one subtracts the structural interventions of New Music SA, the New Music Indabas, the Unyazi Electronic Music Festival and initiatives like the Bow Project from a contemplation of contemporary art music in South Africa post-1994, what remains would be, with the exceptions of singular compositions and even fewer projects of development and curatorship, a wasteland" (Muller 2011: 20–21).

The re-orientation of "art" music in post-apartheid South Africa is noticeable not only in the works of composers, but also in the transformation of musical institutions. In 2003 the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra (CPO) started an outreach and education programme as part of its transformation plan. The programme includes courses, school concerts, an instrument bank, study grants and rural outreach. It has provided the framework for the creation of youth ensembles such as the Cape Philharmonic Youth Wind Ensemble and the Cape Philharmonic Youth Orchestra, the majority of whose members come from previously disadvantaged communities. They will pass through training programmes like the Masidlale Music Project, established in Gugulethu and Nyanga, which offers instrumental training to children who could not, in their "normal" conditions, afford it (Kierman 2009: 149–155)[78]. The Opera House located in the Nico Malan building and operating under the aegis of the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB) was in the 1980s supposedly "open to all races". But this remained largely an illusion until

the 1990s, despite attempts by Angelo Gobbato, appointed artistic director in 1989, who tried to recruit casts representative of South Africa's demographics, had to face the reality that very few blacks had any opportunity of getting the type of training required to sing on an opera stage. Things changed after 1994, when the University of Cape Town Opera School, in coordination with the newly launched Studio Programme for CAPAB Opera, gave talented voices the possibility to become excellent opera singers[79].

After 1995, which saw a local production of George and Ira Gerschwin's *Porgy and Bess*, a series of operas including more and more black singers were presented in Cape Town. The dissolution of the apartheid arts councils and the removal of most state subsidies to institutions devoted to "art" music and opera put this new momentum in peril. But, in marked difference to what happened in other South African metropolises, in Cape Town private sponsorship, some support from the provincial government, and a cooperation agreement with Artscape (the subsidised company that operates the Opera House) made it possible to form a section 21 company, the Cape Town Opera, which took over from CAPAB[80]. Performances of Giaccomo Puccini's *Turandot* in September–October 1994 demonstrated that, alongside Virginia Davids, the great lady of opera in Cape Town (who also heads vocal studies at the UCT College of Music), competent black singers were available. In 2001, *La Bohème*, with a cast reflecting the demographic diversity of the Mother City met with huge success. Smiling faces of all hues now front the brochures and programmes of the Cape Town Opera, which considers itself "The Voice of the Nation". In 2007, Jules Massenet's *Manon* provided the evidence that a new generation of singers had now come of age. Pretty Yende was acclaimed in the title role. Proof that her anointment by a usually rather conservative opera public in Cape Town was not due to Capetonian parochialism was given when she successively won first prize in the category Opera and Operetta, the Audience Prize as well as the Prize of International Media in 2009 at the Hans Gabor Belvedere International Singing Competition in Vienna, Austria (the first time in the history of the competition that one singer won all first prizes) and, the following year, the first prize in the 2010 Bellini competition held in Puteaux (France). In 2009 the musical quality and the playfulness of the young singers who impersonated the animal community in Leoš Janáček's *Cunning Little Vixen* confirmed that post-apartheid opera in Cape Town had reached maturity.

Capetonian musicians and institutions operating in the field of "art" music did not wait for the end of apartheid to start integrating South African musics and black musicians in their productions. But the abolition of all forms of segregation,

and the advent of a new government, made the challenge of inventing a fully South African stream of "art" music completely legitimate. Consequently, initiatives and experiments multiplied. New works were composed and new performers were trained who could display their talent and competence in the interpretation of pieces from the classical repertoire as well as of contemporary creations.

New Trends

The late 1980s and 1990s were also a period during which new musical genres developed in Cape Town. Some of them were imported, appropriated and transformed; others emerged from local impetuses. Reggae was popularised in South Africa by the late Lucky Dube (1964–2007) but, in spite of the existence of the Marcus Garvey Rasta camp established in Phillipi, there does not seem to be a great number of reggae musicians in and around Cape Town. The Zolani Centre in Nyanga welcomes reggae bands, there are Roots Reggae Nights at the Muizenberg Melting Pot and tourists can even enjoy a Cape Town Reggae Tour which takes them to the Marcus Garvey Camp, but reggae seems to have mostly been used as a well from which musicians playing other genres could draw a particular rhythmic pattern on which they rely from time to time to vary their music and signify a symbolic association with Jamaica and Rastafarianism. Another genre, specific to South Africa, *kwaito*, appeared in the early 1990s and acquired immense popularity in 1993 with Boomshaka's "It's about Time". *Kwaito* incorporated elements from house, garage and South African "bubblegum" pop music in an electric mix based on a heavy beat. It is sometimes seen as the post-apartheid popular music *par excellence*. A rapper from Cape Town, Junior Sokhela, was a member of Boom Shaka (Coplan 2002: 5) and Bush Radio uses *kwaito*, among other genres of music, to create links within and between communities and promote a new black identity (Bosch 2008). In spite of this, *kwaito* has only had a small impact on Cape Town music and is mostly seen as emanating from Gauteng[81]. In Cape Town, youth wanting to bring something new into the musical landscape and, when looking for a vehicle for their concerns and aspirations, turned to rap instead.

Rap

The first signs of the appearance of a fledgling hip-hop culture[82] in Cape Town were probably drawn by graffiti artists on the walls of coloured townships in the early 1980s (Badsha 2003: 142; Klopper 2000: 181). In 1982, the club Route 66,

in Mitchell's Plain, held breakdance competitions and a few years later the first rap acts, Prophets of da City and Black Noise, began to acquire a certain fame. They formed the core of what has been dubbed the "Old Skool": a group of young MCs with a political conscience, coming mostly from coloured townships, and addressing current issues in the language of the street. In the beginning, Cape Town rap was modelled after African-American rap. It was not only its sounds that attracted aspiring Capetonian rappers, but the ideas that went with it: the ideology of the Civil Rights and the Black Power movements, and the sense of social commitment attached to rap by Afrika Bambaataa[83] and his Zulu Nation. Both converged with South African Black Consciousness and gave the Cape Town hip-hop movement a moral basis that the Old Skool upheld in its own way. As soon as it gained popularity, hip-hop was considered subversive by the authorities and was suppressed. It could not be played on the airwaves and had to remain underground. Rap artists formed networks and performed live in small clubs; the association of concerned lyrics with a new genre of music symbolising a form of rebellion against racial oppression and social destitution put them at the forefront of the mass movement at the end of the 1980s (Badsha 2003; Watkins 2004). The first rap tapes began to circulate around 1988 and the first major concert in a "legitimate" hall took place in 1990 at the Baxter Theatre. In the same year Prophets of da City (PoC) issued their first album, *Our World*, (Watkins 2004:131–132). After 1990, major rap crews such as PoC and Black Noise performed in the open, released commercial recordings, and continued to look at South African society with a critical eye. Rappers played the role of "organic intellectuals" within Cape Town's deprived communities (Haupt 2008: 184).

The sonic backgrounds played behind MCs when they deliver their chanted declamations were at first modelled on those of American rap, and used rhythmic loops, samples and scratches. But Capetonian rappers soon developed their own combinations, and integrated elements taken from other genres: gospel, reggae, Trinidadian *soca*, or Brazilian rhythms. Symbolic references to a broad vision of Africa are signified through *marimbas*, *mbaqanga* riffs and African jazz[84]. Cape sounds show up frequently against a hardcore rap backdrop. Capetonian rappers have revisited Cape Town musics to assert their roots in the Mother City and demonstrate its potential for creating an original modernity. Emile Jansen, one of the founders of Black Noise, who later went solo as Emile YX?, explains that hip-hop led young rappers to look at themselves in a new way, as Capetonians, and made them discover musicians they did not know: especially jazz musicians or fusion artists like Robbie Jansen, Hilton Schilder, the Genuines and Jonathan

Butler. They sampled them, recycled them in their sonic backgrounds, and also borrowed from other genres that could symbolise Cape Town. "We knew about them because our parents listened to that music, but […] as young kids on the Flats we were sold American and European music as being a better quality of music to our own, just because the radio stations were playing a lot of stuff from there. And then because of the hip-hop there was a sudden switch to like the knowledge of yourself: who you are and where you're from […] So a lot of the artists back then would find samples of banjo, *Klopse* music […] That was only because of hip-hop, because we realised we need to present ourselves as ourselves, and not be copies of what's coming from America."[85] PoC sampled "*Daar kom die Alibama*" in "*Blast from the Past*"[86], Black Noise perfumed its rhythms with *vastrap* in "African sunshine"[87], Emile YX? includes an allusion to the *Klopse* in "*Is 'n Cape Flats Ding*"[88] and the younger group Brasse Vannie Kaap, who have been performing since 1996, clearly claim their "Capetonianness" by beginning their debut album with a soundclip of Nieuwe Jaar[89]; to which they add a traditional *Klopse* song: "Die Blikkie se Boem", and a piece praising the *potjiekos*[90]. The particular construction of sonic backgrounds from a mixture of pre-existing recordings and original material which is specific to rap has allowed Capetonians to devise a reference system which asserts their origin in Cape Town and their links to the universe of the *Klopse*, manifests their active presence in Africa and proclaims their affiliation to a world of "counter-modernities" in which Brazil and the Caribbean stand out.

Their lyrics signify a similar piling up of identifications. Capetonian rap is multilingual. MCs use English and Afrikaans, and occasionally isiXhosa and isiZulu. Most of the time, their rhymes are written in non-standard forms of these languages, and abound in colloquial expressions. When they rap in Afrikaans, they speak its Cape Flats dialect or *Kaaps*. PoC were the first to use colloquial expressions which immediately signalled them as from Cape Town. Black Noise followed suite, then Brasse Vannie Kaap and Funny Carp[91] systematised the use of *Kaaps*. The choice of a multilingual expression, inspired by street usages, in which Cape Flats Afrikaans occupies a prominent place, ties up perfectly with the particularities of Cape rap sonic backgrounds. It asserts and legitimises forms of popular culture which for a long time have been looked down upon by the educated elites. It also indicates that pride in one's local culture is construed as a link with the larger world (South Africa, Africa and the rest). In addition to that, the use of *Kaaps* is inseparable from a sense of humour, which *moppies* convey abundantly: rap lyrics are frequently imbued with the spirit of *moppies*. *Kaaps*

suggests a caustic and sarcastic point of view on daily affairs: it can transmit serious messages about injustice, inequality, violence, drug abuse or HIV/AIDS in a form that is easily accessible to everyone, and especially to the youth (Haupt 2001; Watkins 2004). Ready D, the DJ for Brasse Vannie Kaap, made it very clear: "We don't want to go out there preaching. That kind of stuff goes over people's head. They don't want to listen to that. They think apartheid is over. They're all happy. We use humour to get the message across" (quoted in Marlin-Curiel 2003: 70). Similarly, Funny Carp "[…] has made sure that each of the songs has a strong positive message, conveyed in the language of the streets and with a large dose of humour". One of the members of the group, Kleintjie, explains that, beyond the apparent funniness of their productions "There is a message in all our songs. We are against gangsterism and drugs, which are problems right through the country, and especially the areas where we live." [92]

Simple words, colloquial expressions and wit are vehicles for engaging serious issues. In order to assert their roots and their independence, Cape Town rappers clearly distanced themselves from American rap, and especially from Gangsta rap. The "Old Skool" championed the cause of rap's original integrity and purity, but also called for imagination and creativity. In this perspective, rap's integrity is understood as a commitment to fight social evils and expose those who are responsible for them. Problems caused by alcoholism, abuse and violence are frequently addressed (Haupt 2001: 180), along with alienation, consumerism, conformism. Being oneself, being proud of who one is, run like a red thread across the productions of Cape Town rap crews. Black Noise advises: "Don't let the white man speak for or fight for you / You've got to do it for yourself so that freedom can be true […] / Nothing really changed. Whites still own this black country / Don't get me wrong. I'm not bad mouthing our black president / But when whitey puts out his hand I get hesitant."[93]

However, criticism of the present state of South African society, and of the conditions in which underprivileged Capetonians have to live, does not lead to explicit denunciations. Usually, in rap lyrics, the culprit is "the system", or "the politicians"[94]. Capetonian rap exudes a general mood of suspicion towards politics, which sometimes makes rappers fall between two stools, between scepticism about the new South Africa[95] and being co-opted into the "system": "When hip-hoppers have a problem with government policy they make it known, despite their continued participation in government projects" (Watkins 2004: 133). As a matter of fact, the main objective of the rappers is not to expose but to rehabilitate: the Cape Flats as a whole, with its vibrant patrimony of musics and festivals, and the history of their

inhabitants. Brasse Vannie Kaap clearly articulated their will to contribute to the recovery of a dignified heritage in "*Kaap van Storms*"[96]: "*Hulle trek hulle neus sê, 'Sies, jy's 'n* low-class coloured / *Jou voorvaders was* whites *en slawe*. So it must be a bastard' / But, wait a minute, if you trust my story and not his story *sal jy sien* / *My voorvaders was* a king and queen and never knew drugs, guns *of 'n kantien* / *Hulle was altyd daar om God te bedien*" (They sneer at us and say, '*Sis*, you're a lower-class coloured / Your ancestors were whites and slaves. So you must be a bastard' / But, wait a minute, if you trust my story and not his story, then you'll see / My ancestors were kings and queens and never knew drugs, guns or pubs / They were always there to serve God" (quoted in: Haupt 2001: 181, 190). The nostalgia for District Six is part and parcel of the endeavour to recover and redeem the past; PoC indeed remember life in the District, "the heart and soul of the young and old": "I remember the days of District Six / The laughter of adults and little kids / Hanover Street and the markets with fish / Where the music was always the heartbeat / I remember the days of District Six / The sound of the snoekhorn and the *ouens* [guys] used / The break with a *lekker* song."[97] Cape Town's past cannot be separated from the history of Africa, the cradle of humanity, a point that is emphasised by Black Noise (Battersby 2003: 122) and Emile YX? in his solo album.

Cape Town rappers do not limit their social commitment to rehabilitating the past; from the beginning, they intended to be active at the grassroots. Emile YX? remembers: "Because of the politics of apartheid basically we wanted to get the message out to other young people about the situation and so the musicality was second, because we never had instruments and a lot of what we did was beat boxing, so any beat would do as long as we can get our message across. From there we started performing more at schools, taking the message around and when hip-hop started … when rap started in about 1987, 1985 to 1987, a lot of the rap was about social issues: drug awareness, AIDS awareness, just anything that would get the kids involved in something positive because of the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa."[98] The concept of "conscious rap" was born in the struggle, under the dual influence of the Black Consciousness Movement and of Afrika Bambaataa's Zulu Nation; it continued to serve as an ideal in the post-apartheid era. It aggregates a feeling of responsibility to the community and an engagement with the difficulties Cape Flats dwellers experience every day (Battersby 2003: 112–113). The rappers' commitment is not only enacted in performance, where their message can be heard from a stage, but also in education and conscientisation programmes. In addition to workshops organised in the townships and intervention at various schools, *Headwarmers*, a programme

produced by Bush Radio, helps create a network of conscious rappers dedicated to fighting against drugs, violence, AIDS, sexism and xenophobia, and to promoting interracial understanding and collaboration (Haupt 2001, 2008)[99]. From this perspective, rappers address distrust and mutual negative stereotypes that for a long time pitted coloureds and Africans against one another. In "Nobody Knows", Black Noise testify: "I come from the Plain not far from Gug's [Gugulethu] and Nyanga, but still coloureds and blacks don't mix with one another. If you can do your thing then I can do my thing, we work against each other, we both come out with nothing. Trainlines separate and divide my people and still white Jesus pollutes church steeples. If you can interact and I can interact, then we will both realise that we are both black. And my past is not much different from yours, and we both been fighting the exact same wars. Each one, teach one, we all can recognise a plan was set up for us to trivialise the existence of the other 'cause … our shades of skins colour, preventing us from calling each other 'Brother'."[100] Similarly, PoC appealed to black solidarity and after 1993, with the arrival of African members, they ceased to appear as an all-coloured group and extended their multilingualism (Haupt 2001: 178). A grassroots organisation such as Molo Songololo set up rap workshops as part of its programme to eradicate racism[101]. On the whole, Farzanah Badsha assumes that, in spite of past divisions, rap contributed to the development of new ties among youth from different "racial" and social backgrounds (Badsha 2003: 134). Bridges have been built between the "Old Skool" and the younger "New Skool", mainly formed of young middle-class whites. One of the most active rap crews of the new generation, Moodphase5, comprises coloured and white rappers; and according to Stephanie Marlin-Curiel, Brasse Vannie Kaap, who enjoy a strong popularity among white youth "[…] enable[s] non-white Afrikaans speakers to decolonise their minds; in other words, to dispense with the apartheid mentality of conforming to white society by speaking its language" (Marlin-Curiel 2003: 71). Adam Haupt concurs and adds: "[…] rock festivals' interest in BVK tells us something about a set of new generation South Africans' desire to reinvent what it means to be white, Afrikaans South Africans – thereby offering subjects the opportunity to distance themselves from the previous generation's complicity in apartheid. Here we see the evidence of an attempt to construct new identities that are more inclusive and are not bound by racial boundaries" (Haupt 2006: 1).

Rap undeniably provided connections that contributed to the reinsertion of South Africa in international networks which were not only musical but had also an ethical dimension. Rap's principle of combination makes it a particularly plastic and adaptable art form, a reason why it spread so rapidly across the world. In 1980s

South Africa, the ideas of combination, blending and mixture were antagonistic to ideologies and policies aiming at dividing and separating people. Rap was destined to be critical and oppositional, an attitude that many rappers maintained after the end of apartheid. But rap also had a positive dimension: it aspired to be educational and empowering, to fight divisions and establish ties within and between communities. This is why, although rap blossomed in the coloured townships of Cape Town from which most of its early exponents came, rappers tried to transcend what could have been interpreted as an exclusive identity to put forward Cape Town as a whole, and to express through music and lyrics symbolic affiliations with Africa and black diasporas. Rap illustrates the workings of the Relation in the age of the Whole-World (*Tout-Monde*): it relays and relates, it ties local imaginations to global innovations and is a call for action for the correction of inequalities, the rehabilitation of stigmatised people and the enhancement of independent creativity. For Adam Haupt: "'Conscious' hip-hop has done two things. It has constituted a public in which young subjects can congregate to make sense of post-apartheid South Africa as well as to develop key creative and critical skills in ways not afforded to them by the formal education system. It has also created a public platform from which this community can articulate its reading of reality" (Haupt 2008: 206).

Marimba bands

Rap's success in Cape Town was rapid and long-lasting because it expressed modernity and cosmopolitanism, and could be appropriated by youth living in urban areas but whose creativity – that is the capacity to participate in world modernity and to invent their own brand of modernity – was denied. *Marimba* bands appeared in Langa in the 1980s, about the same time that hip-hop took root in Mitchell's Plain. They were the outcome of a dual process: the will to assert the resilience, relevance and legitimacy of African cultural forms construed as "traditional", and the introduction in Cape Town of an instrument coming from another part of Africa, the *marimba*. The word *marimba* is based on a common Bantu root, *rimba* or *limba*, meaning, when speaking of a musical instrument, a key or a note; the plural prefix *ma-* indicates the possibility to play several notes. It is used (with various plural prefixes according to the language) to designate a xylophone with gourd resonators which is widespread on the African continent, but not in South Africa. It seems to have been introduced in Cape Town by Catholic priests, among them the musicologist Father David Dargie, who wanted to make mass sound more African. The St Francis and St Anthony churches in Langa are

said to be the places where *marimbas* were first heard. The instruments may have been copied from Chopi *timbila*, which were played in mining compounds by Mozambican migrant workers. They may also have been brought from Zimbabwe where they were used during Catholic services. Simphiwe Matole, one of the founding members of Amampondo, the group who popularised *marimba* music outside churches, recalls that, in Langa, part of the early *marimba* repertoire consisted in Zimbabwean songs[102].

Marimbas could therefore symbolise Africa (and, through Zimbabwe, independent Africa and the defeat of a racist regime) and be perceived as instruments able to keep traditions alive in the city. As a matter of fact, when Amampondo was formed, in 1979, they played Xhosa music (their name proudly asserts that the musicians come from Pondoland in Transkei) but very rapidly extended their repertoire to include songs from other regions of South Africa and Africa. They also added other African instruments: kudu horns, drums, musical bows, harps, *mbira*. Amampondo began by busking in the streets of Cape Town, then made a few club appearances, and in 1980 performed at a solidarity concert in support of striking Cape Town meat workers (Ansell 2004: 184). Their fame reached Johannesburg and in 1982, for seven months, they featured on the programme of the Market Theatre. They also started touring outside South Africa and released their first album in 1983[103]. After a somewhat troubled period caused by a boycott against them decreed by the Cultural Commission of the ANC (because they had accepted to play in Israel and Taiwan[104]), they re-launched their career in 1992 and again met with considerable success in South Africa and abroad. In 1997 band member Dizu Zungula Mzikantu Plaatjies began teaching African music performance at the UCT College of Music and formed an ensemble of varying sizes, Ibuyambo, with which he continues to perform and to lecture on African music. As soon as they began to get a certain amount of recognition, Dizu Plaatjies, Simphiwe Matole and other members of Amampondo insisted on the fact that their name did not mean that they were ensconced in Xhosa culture; on the contrary they underlined that they wanted to promote a global conception of African music and culture, and that the group included several members from other regions of South Africa and actually sung a repertoire coming from several African countries in several languages[105].

Amampondo opened the way for a large number of young musicians who wanted to defend "traditions" which were thought of as integral to modern life. Like Amampondo, they do not restrict themselves to *marimbas* and Xhosa or South African music[106], but perform on a large sample of African instruments and play pieces coming from the whole continent. Many of them continue busking

in St George's Mall, the main pedestrian artery of central Cape Town, or at the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, a huge commercial mall complex developed on the historic docklands of the old harbour; a few of them manage to make it to concert stages and recording studios. One of them is the Hlanganani Traditional Group, whose musicians also hail from Langa. They followed in the footsteps of Amampondo and adopted *marimbas* because they could build the instruments themselves and be heard in public without a sound system. In addition to its practicality, the *marimba* is an African instrument that allows the playing of all sorts of music: "That's a thing, it has that vibe, with a lot of influence maybe from blues, you can play blues from *marimba*, you can play Xhosa songs, you can play Zulu songs, maybe some songs from England and stuff. We have mixtures of songs, songs which come from Uganda or from Africa, we are changing the style of the *marimba*, we are creating our own as Hlanganani. It's much easier than the other instruments, that's why people get more interested in it. And to add more, the *marimba* instrument is not found worldwide, it's only here in Africa."[107]

The tradition that *marimba* bands, or Dizu Plaatjies' Ibuyambo, want to perpetuate is indeed an "invented" tradition. It does have deep roots in the Eastern Cape, South Africa and the African continent, but the music, instruments, costumes and make-up they bring to the public in performance do not reproduce rural cultural practices, neither past nor present. Amampondo and their followers, taking their cue from the Catholic church, have invented a type of show that corresponds precisely to David B. Coplan's definition of syncretism: a "blending of musical materials and forms from two or more cultures, resulting in a new form that is more than the sum of its diverse parts" (Coplan 2008: 68). It is a case of modernisation by re-traditionalisation; their performances, based on the mixing of many influences, set in motion a complex of symbols that associate rootedness in a soil with claims to modernity, inclusion in the continent of Africa, and the aspiration to represent it as a whole. It affirms the compatibility and the complementary nature of a strong local identification with an inclusion in a wider world of modernity, and appears to be an expression of "counter-modernity"[108] that implicitly contested apartheid and continues to question the imbalances of the new South Africa.

Contemporary Gospel

Music has always played an important role in South African churches; African composers wrote original Afro-Christian hymns for their churches which eventually constituted a large repertoire of *makwaya* music. Baptists and Methodists

used mostly American hymn books while the Dutch Reformed, Anglican and Catholic churches had their own body of religious songs, written in Europe or fashioned after European models. The rapid growth of Pentecostalism in South Africa introduced new ways of praising the Lord in music. In the 1990s, South African Pentecostalism already had a long history, dating back to the launch of the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1908. However its following significantly increased at the end of the 20th century, especially among Africans and coloureds in the Western Cape[109]. Pentecostal churches consider that not only the soul but also the body can pray; therefore everything that can *move* the body – in both senses of the word – is welcome in the temple: lively music, heavy rhythms and the instruments that produce them. Religious authorities find in the scriptures – especially in Psalm 150[110] – texts which support their musical broad-mindedness. Consequently, as time went by, Pentecostal churches absorbed many new styles of secular music, to which they added religious lyrics, and stimulated the creation of new forms of worship music (Martin 1998). Today, hymns usually classified under "contemporary gospel" or "Christian music" owe a lot to Pentecostalism, sometimes through the influence it exercised over other denominations, Baptist or Methodist for instance.

The extension of Pentecostalism in South Africa led to a larger diffusion of the most recent musical currents, through religious services and outreach activities. It did not supersede *makwaya* music, but added a new repertoire that tends to predominate in Pentecostal, Charismatic and Apostolic churches. This repertoire is strongly influenced by contemporary trends in American gospel: composers such as Andraé Crouch, Walter Hawkins, Kirk Franklin, as well as groups and singers such as those who come from the Winans family are very popular; their songs, their style of choral arrangement, their singing techniques are frequently emulated. Jazz also contributes to colours and rhythmic dynamics of this new religious music. One of the most dynamic pastors cum musicians, Glenn Robertson, now heads an organisation called Kaleidoscope after having been the music and creative arts pastor for His People Christian Church. He played with, among others, Tony Schilder and the Cape jazz combo Airborne, and he now leads a jazz band dedicated to Christian music[111]. Mark Fransman plays on most tracks of gospel singer Leigh Erasmus' album[112], and has arranged some of them; bassist Alistair Andrews frequently backs gospel singers; and in 1998 Robbie Jansen recorded a religious CD titled *Praises*[113].

Other influences may be heard on recent contemporary gospel recordings, which contribute to differentiating them from American productions. Some

Afrikaans singers merely add religious lyrics to what would otherwise be hackneyed Afrikaans pop songs, sometimes with a light touch of *boeremusiek*[114]. Evan Rogers instils fragrances of African jazz and *mbaqanga* in his congregational songs, which sometimes make them sound like a Mango Groove piece[115]. The choir of the Lofdal Prayer Centre, including members of several choirs from the Western Cape interior, similarly evokes *kwela*, *mbaqanga* and reggae[116]. Trevor Sampson, the founder of the Restoring the Sound Centre in Macassar, near Cape Town, creates, with the support of bassist and arranger Victor Masondo and several African instrumentalists, a rich blend of American-inspired contemporary gospel and *makwaya* music[117]. In addition to the above, orchestras operating in the Cape region also play the *ghoema* beat to give contemporary gospel a local sound. Glenn Robertson mentions several bands which are experimenting with this combination: "There are many bands around on the Cape Flats … We have bands like Christian Explainers, New Birth; there was a movement called HOPE (Help Our People Excel), they were proponents of the Andraé Crouch-type song and the Winans-type song. What they would do was, they would take that big vocal sound and couple it with a *ghoema* or a Cape flavour, and I can think of one guy, Wilmot Fredericks, who has taken a lot of the old and coupled it with the Cape sound, the Cape flavour sound, and they've done wonderful sorts of combinations of that. So you still have the big choir in the background, but you have this *ghoema* kind of feel throughout the worship."[118] In the same spirit, a Punkster music has emerged in coloured Pentecostal churches. Glenn Robertson describes it as "a frenetic kind of sound, it's very up tempo, it's a lot of handclapping, and it's a vibrant joyous style"[119]; "[i]f you look at the Punkster movement, it is not the same but it's quite similar to *ghoema*, it has that feel."[120]

These new Christian musical mixes resonate not only in churches during services but also in prayer gatherings that take place in large halls or stadiums. More and more musicians, belonging not only to Pentecostal and Apostolic churches but to many other denominations, are now familiar with the new aesthetics combining American contemporary gospel, South African and Capetonian sounds. At His People Christian Church, the school created by Glenn Robertson in 1992: "Three-thousand six-hundred students graduated, but it was not only people from His People, it was from all denominations, so it would be Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, Anglican, Catholic, various churches and they would come to this central school and we would train them up in various theory, music theory, praise and worship, we would talk about improvisation, how to improvise during worship and various things."[121] Contemporary gospel is the illustration of a process of appropriation

implying the injection into borrowed material of local elements that contribute to change its sound and make it resonant with the local musical culture. It has crossed over many barriers: musical, religious and "racial", and contributes to the creation of new Capetonian, and South African, musical blends.

Memories and (Re)Creations

The abolition of apartheid has not only created conditions for the construction of a "new" South Africa, it has also made possible the rediscovery of a past, large parts of which had for a long time been concealed or distorted. As the satirist Evita Bezuidenhout (a.k.a. Pieter-Dirk Uys) acutely remarked: "The future of South Africa is certain; it is just the past that is unpredictable."[122] Music leaves "traces" that can be retrieved once the causes of oblivion have vanished; it facilitates processes of reminding, of reminiscing and recognising (Ricœur 2000: 46–47). It can be used to re-appropriate and re-assess large sections of the past in order to reconstruct memories. Music suggests new narratives in which history can be seen in a new light. Several initiatives illustrate endeavours to create new memories of Cape Town. Granting the Blue Notes the Order of the Ikhamanga (silver) in 2007 was both an acknowledgement of the role they played as musical innovators and a tribute to "their unprecedented quest for non-racialism", an attitude which appears clearly "instructive in these days when the nation is still trying to fashion an identity for itself"[123]. In a different manner, the release of a CD titled *Cape Town Party: The Very Best of the Cape* (CCP-WA 1378) also underlined the "transracial" spirit of the local musical scene by featuring black pop artists, such as the Invaders, the Flames and Jonathan Butler, who managed to get some exposure on white radio stations in spite of apartheid[124]. However, the most important initiative aiming at recovering and uncovering Cape Town's musical past as completely as possible was indisputably the Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying project.

Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying

This initiative was launched in 2007 under the aegis of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and was produced by Valdi van Reenen-Le Roux, curriculum specialist in history for the Western Cape Education Department, and Glenn Robertson, head of Kaleidoscope and leader of the Glenn Robertson Jazz Band. It consisted in research on musical genres specific to Cape Town and workshops to teach songs, and their historical signification, and poetry to youth from

different backgrounds. It culminated in a public presentation of the results of the workshop (the interpretation of songs considered as "classics" of Cape Town and the reading of poems written for or during the workshops) on Reconciliation Day, 16 December 2007. It was also made available in a box-set, including an eSongbook CD-Rom in which the scores of the songs and the texts of the poems are reproduced with explanatory commentaries, a CD and a DVD containing the songs and poems presented by the participants (facilitators and youth) during the show[125]. The project's aim was threefold. It intended to restore and transmit musics of the past that bore testimony to Cape Town's blend of cultures. It meant to empower marginalised communities through the re-appropriation and creation of music and poetry. Finally, the whole project was conceived as an effort to "heal the wounds of the past", and promote reconciliation. Fanie du Toit, the executive director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, wrote in the booklet inserted in the box-set: "South African songs and poetry are a crucial part of our cultural, political and religious heritage. As the musical experience in Cape Town, not least in traditional slave communities, represents an important thread that potentially could bind people together, the Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying project has created a platform for a community-based process of engagement and dialogue, steadily bringing together different musical and poetry traditions representative of different cultural identities of the Western Cape."

Participants in the music workshops selected a sample of songs to illustrate the particular mixing of cultures that took place in Cape Town, the different stages of musical creolisation that derived from it, and the spirit of resistance conveyed by music in the 1970s and 1980s. Khoi Khonnexion (Jethro Louw, Glen Arendse, Garth Erasmus) presented their vision of an actualised Khoisan past by focusing on the musical bow "as the central and primary symbol of the indigenous Khoisan culture"[126]. An African lullaby and an initiation song were interpreted by a collective of young singers formed during the workshops. Singers and guitarists Zayne Adams and Errol Dyers led other young singers in the performance of "*Roesa*" and of a medley of *ghoemaliedjies* and *moppies*. The Little Giants, under the guidance of George Werner, Robbie Jansen, trumpeter Ian Smith, Duke and Ezra Ngcukana, played a sample of famous tunes associated with Cape jazz[127]. And an aggregation of various choirs interpreted a medley of spiritual and political songs which evoked the years of the struggle. The jazz musicians involved in the project made it very clear that the music they created in the times of apartheid was intrinsically antagonistic to any form of racism. Ian Smith, who was born in Scotland but has been active on the Cape Town jazz scene for several decades,

emphasised: "There has never been any musical apartheid in this town". Fellow trumpeter Duke Ngcukana concurred: among musicians "colour was never an issue". Statements shared by Robbie Jansen who added: "We have to look for the African in us", which led George Werner to question the distinction made between "Cape jazz" and "African jazz"[128].

Musicals

The Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying project had an educational goal; it created in music a memory of Cape Town likely to help young people, especially those coming from underprivileged communities, to cope with the realities of the 21st century, and to understand where they came from, where they stood, and what they could achieve using the heritage that had been unearthed and passed on to them. However, the exploration of Cape Town's musical past also followed other routes. Musicals provided a means to mix rehabilitation of the past and entertainment. Taliep Petersen and David Kramer indeed played a pioneering role in devising a romantic memory of District Six at a time when apartheid was disintegrating[129]. *District Six: The Musical* then *Fairyland*, which ran for three years at the Dock Road Theatre on the Cape Town Waterfront at the beginning of the 1990s, recreated the joys of living in Kanaladorp[130]. District Six was portrayed as "a place where people had a sense of themselves as a community", a place destroyed by the apartheid regime, whose "spirit is missing in the sprawling townships and suburban developments of today"[131]. The songs were drawn from foreign repertoires popular in the 1960s, especially African-American doo-wop, soul ballads and gospel, as well as from local *ghoemaliedjies*, not forgetting *kwela*, township jive and "the sound of the African beat"[132]. After dedicating several musicals to the troubles of post-apartheid life in the Cape townships, David Kramer and Taliep Petersen conceived their last collaborative work, *Ghoema*, as "[…] an attempt to re-imagine the fact and the fiction, to rewrite the history of early Afrikaans music and to acknowledge the nameless people who created and contributed to it"[133]. *Ghoema* opened on 11 November 2005 at the Baxter Theatre, a year and a month before Taliep Petersen was murdered. As a musical, it meant to entertain in music and dance, and it possessed the usual quality of Kramer and Petersen's productions: humour, vivacity and lively songs. The range of musics used in *Ghoema* was broad: it included all the repertoires of the *Klopse* and *Sangkore* (*nederlandsliedjies*, *moppies*, combined chorus, *ouliede*), bringing the *ghoema* drum to the foreground, as the symbol of the slaves' resilience and of their descendants'

creativity. But in a true *moppie* spirit, *Ghoema* also introduced elements of rap and international hits, such as "Bambino"[134] and "The Little Shoemaker"[135] which emerges from the final "*Afklop*", a farewell medley of *ghoemaliedjies*. The history Taliep Petersen and David Kramer "re-imagine" in *Ghoema* is basically the history of slavery, from the shores of Indonesia to the farms of the Cape, and of its aftermath. It emphasises the mixed origins of South African culture, and especially of Afrikaans, and insists on showing that ideas of purity and exclusivity are but figments of the racialist imagination. David Kramer concludes his programme notes emphasising: "Hopefully *Ghoema* will inform, inspire and free us from some of the misconceptions of this language and this music."

Although they were undeniably the most successful, David Kramer and Taliep Petersen were not the only writers and composers to use musicals in order to reconstruct the past. With *Rosa*, which played at the Baxter Theatre in 1996, Zulfah Otto-Salies wanted to "[…] spread the word about the importance, diversity and depth of Malay culture (and other minority cultures) in the Cape". Developing her plot from the lyrics of the Nederlands "*Roesa*", she looked for information on old dances that were practised at the Cape, and used it to devise new choreographies. In this case, the avowed intention was to delve into the past to address the future[136], but the past is again centred on the period of slavery, and the emphasis is put on the specificity of Malay culture.

Strangely enough, neither *Ghoema* nor *Roesa* openly recall memories of apartheid. The revival of the *Golden City Dixies* in 1994 hinted at it indirectly. The *Golden City Dixies* was a show which, while created in Johannesburg, was based on Cape Town popular music and drew a lot from the *Klopse* tradition. In 1958, the troupe was invited to perform in London, and later went to Sweden. Finding themselves in dire financial straights, they held a press conference and exposed entertainment agencies that did not fulfil their commitments, as well as the discriminations they were victims of in South Africa. They were consequently blacklisted by the government and banned from returning to South Africa. Most of them settled in Scandinavia and became successful entertainers and, sometimes, teachers[137]. The 1994 revival did not allude to this particular story and the producers thought it sufficient to focus on the history of music in Cape Town, from the slaves to the *Klopse*. The show played at the Baxter Theatre and did not meet with a huge success; only the older members of the audience may have remembered the past glory and tribulations of the late 1950s Golden Dixies.

A musical which actually focused on apartheid and the struggle against it was produced in 2001 by the Ambassador's Theatre Company and staged in a

hall located at 14 Plantation Road, Wetton: *Get the Colour Right*. The script was written by members of the troupe, under the guidance of their director, the late Ian Murray, with music by Tracey Murray-Marthinussen. The cast associated professional artists with amateurs, many of them members of Christian churches. The show was divided into three acts: "Our heritage", "Our history" and "Our hope". *Get the Colour Right* explained in music the consequences of the Group Areas Act, how it uprooted and dismantled communities, how it divided families, how forced removals and resettlements created the conditions for the expansion and intensification of crime. It contrasted the community spirit uniting the inhabitants of District Six, despite the poor conditions they lived in, against the dullness, the isolation and the violence of the townships. In Ian Murray's mind, cultural diversity was the prime target of apartheid; coloured people were made into a non-entity, without origin, without history, without culture. They participated in the fight against apartheid, but their perspective in the struggle has been obliterated[138]. Confronted with this situation, the Ambassador's Theatre Company endeavoured to put on stage a history in which suffering, resistance and creativity are inseparable. The programme explained: "In order for us to empower our society to achieve, we need to move from our past of racial oppression, segregation and 'township' thinking […] We need to re-establish the true harmony of life in Cape Town – a people of various persuasions, a people of passion, a people who respected each other, a people of the arts, a people of District Six – which existed before apartheid tore our communities, our friendships, our families apart." These ideas were conveyed through music drawing from the various wellsprings of Cape Town: the *ghoema* beat enlivened songs derived from the *ghoemaliedjies* model; the saxophonist did not hesitate to adopt at times a *langarm* tone; and gospel was omnipresent, reminding the audience that many struggle songs were adaptations of religious hymns.

New encounters

The abrogation of laws preventing interaction between persons classified under different categories greatly encouraged the collaboration between musicians who during apartheid had no or few possibilities to meet and play together. Policies of reconciliation sometimes translated into invitations or encouragement to mix musics considered as characteristic of certain groups. In October 2007, for instance, an extravaganza dedicated to senior citizens was staged at the Cape Town Waterfront. Its programme included singers from Northern Cape rural areas,

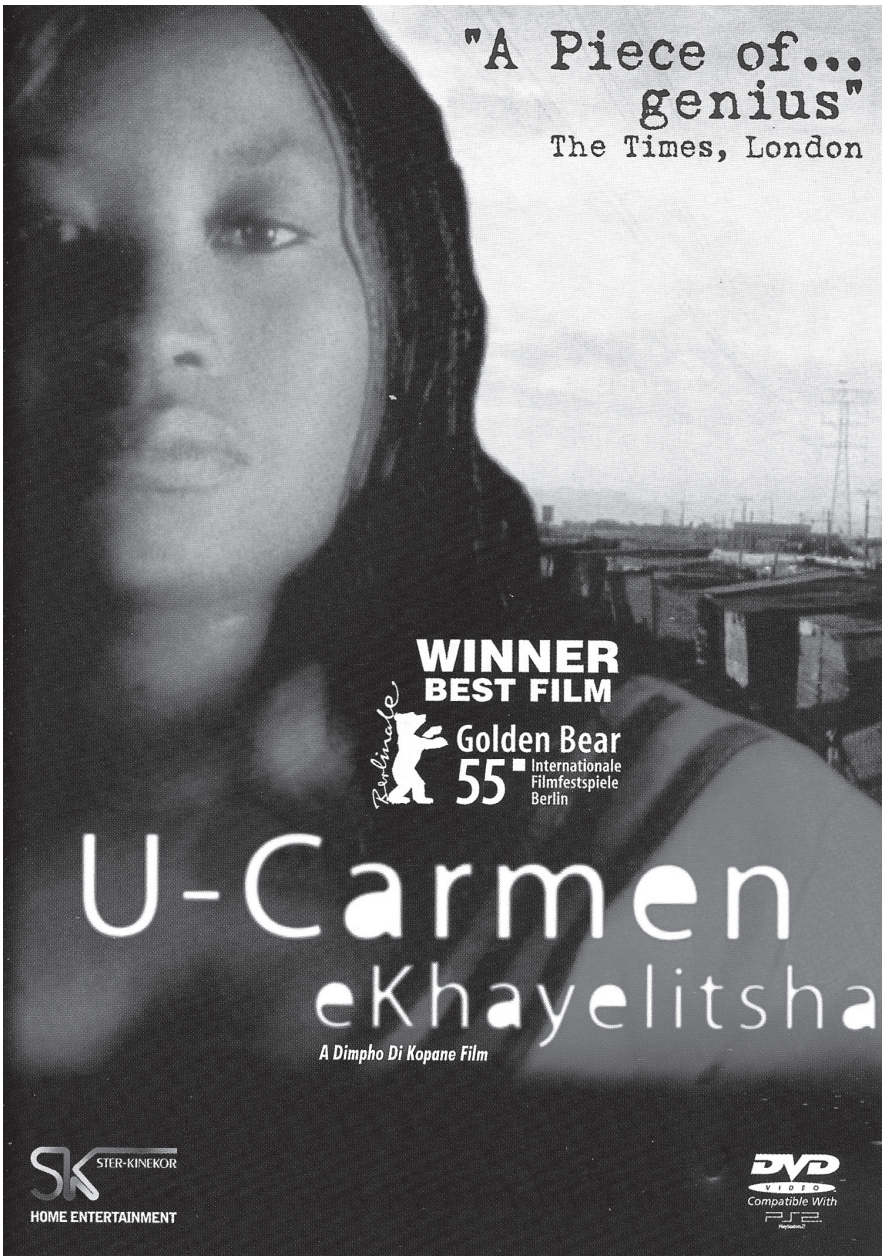
oriental dancers, laser shows, and meetings between the UCT Jazz Band and the Fezeka High School Choir of Gugulethu, and between the Tulips Sangkoor and the Hlanganani *marimba* band. When the Tulips and Hlanganani started rehearsing, the members of one group were not familiar with the repertoire of the other, but bridges were rapidly formed in the course of rehearsals. The Tulips had learned "Meadowlands"[139] from an African choir they heard during a tour of Germany, they also knew "*Shosholoza*"; on the other side, the *marimba* players were familiar with "*Daar kom die Alibama*". These songs provided a platform from which a common repertoire progressively developed, members of one group helping members of the other to understand their stylistic idiosyncrasies.

A few years before, the most famous of Cape Town *marimba* bands, Amampondo, was involved in a more ambitious experimental music meeting. They joined the Solid Brass Quintet, composed of instrumentalists from the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, to form Intsholo ("sweet sounds" in isiXhosa). The show they presented at the Baxter Theatre was titled *A Crash of Culture*, a clumsy antinomic phrasing which seemed to refer to Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilisation"[140], when it intended to demonstrate the opposite. Fred Abrahamse, the producer of the show, explained in the programme notes: "We have grown up in South Africa with all its polarisation. Within the arts, that polarisation has been particularly prevalent. Actors act, singers sing, dancers dance and musicians play music. As an arts community we have to stand together and form a unity amongst all the disciplines." The show tells the story of a group of classical musicians going to give a concert and who find themselves stranded in the countryside when their bus *crashes*. They are welcomed by the inhabitants of a nearby African village, who are celebrating a young boy's coming out of the initiation school. The classical musicians feel attracted to the villagers' music, and soon join them. The moral of the story is that musicians, whatever the kind of music they play and the milieus they come from, can meet, mix, and together create new forms of music. Here, *marimbas* and wind instruments are astutely combined in arrangements written by William Haubrich, the trombonist of the Solid Brass Quintet[141].

Since *A Crash of Cultures* there have been many other attempts at blending classical European music with African music or African jazz. Jazz musicians have for a long time been fascinated by the sounds of the symphonic orchestra, and especially by their string sections. Playing with strings seemed to give jazz soloists not only a sumptuous background, but also a kind of musical nobility. Charlie Parker paved the way when in 1949 he recorded six jazz standards accompanied by an ensemble of strings and oboe arranged by Jimmy Carroll. Other sessions

followed, and even if jazz purists do not consider them as truly representative of Charlie Parker's creativity, they provided the material for some of the saxophonist's best selling albums[142]. Among the most musically accomplished attempts at using string ensembles in jazz were Stan Getz's *Focus*, with arrangements by Eddie Sauter[143], Duke Ellington's recording of his *Night Creature* suite with various European symphony orchestras[144], and French bass player Didier Levallet's compositions for the Swing Strings System he founded in 1978[145]. These achievements were certainly an incentive for Abdullah Ibrahim to compose in 1994 the *Tricentenary Suite* to commemorate the arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf of Macassar in South Africa[146]. Orchestrated by American saxophonist Horace Alexander Young, the suite wanted to project "[…] the impact which the music of the courts in Muslim Spain had on the civilisation process in Europe and its influence on the *Krontjong* of Java and *boeremusiek* and Cape Malay Music in Cape Town. The SYTCC [Shaykh Yūsuf Tricentenary Commemoration Committee] looks upon this symphony as a means of reaching out to the broader community of music lovers in this country, to evoke in them an awareness of the importance of music in Islamic spiritual practices and involve them in appreciating the contribution of the Muslim community to music in this country. The symphony is in fact an exercise in community education."[147] The concert took place at the Nico Malan Opera House on 14 August 1994, with the CAPA Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Victor Ntoni, a respected South African jazz musician, and Basil Coetzee, Ezra Ngcukana and Vusi Khumalo (drums). Whatever the expectations of the SYTCC, the music sounded more like a Hollywood arrangement of Abdullah Ibrahim's compositions than an exemplification of the influence of Muslim music in South Africa. The symbolic value of this concert was nevertheless very high: a South African symphony orchestra, at the time an all-white ensemble, played compositions by a black South African musician, under the baton of another black South African musician, in what for decades had been a shrine of white culture in Cape Town. This amounted to a recognition of the importance and validity of black music and a gesture towards the reunification of cultural practices which had been artificially separated during most of the 20th century. Abdullah Ibrahim later repeated the experiment with the collaboration of Swiss composer Daniel Schnyder, who arranged a selection of Abdullah Ibrahim's pieces, first for a string ensemble in 1997, then in 2001 for the Munich Radio Symphony conducted by Barbara Yahr. The two recordings that resulted from this encounter can, this time, be heard as the anointment of a Cape Town pianist who started with the *Klopse* by a noted European composer[148].

Abdullah Ibrahim's *Tricentenary Suite*, *African Suite for Trio and String Orchestra* and *African Symphony* sounded like a "classicisation" of South African jazz. Mark Dornford-May's productions go the opposite way and present an "Africanisation" of European classics. A relative late-comer to South Africa, Mark Dornford-May created in 2000 with Charles Hazlewood a lyric theatre, Dimpo Di Kopane, which provided the basis for producing an original version of George Bizet's *Carmen: U-Carmen eKhayelitsha* (Carmen from Khayelitsha). The libretto was adapted and transposed in the African township of Khayelitsha, but the plot was not drastically transformed and the music was kept unchanged. Carmen works in a small cigarette factory and deals with smugglers, *shebeen* kings and policemen, but her persona remains faithful to the original character as portrayed in Prosper Mérimée's short story and Georges Bizet's opera. Staged at the Stellenbosch Spier Festival in 2001, Mark-Dornford May's *U-Carmen* went to London and North America where it was received with great enthusiasm. Carmen was played by the Khaleyitsha-born Pauline Malefane, who started singing in the choir of her school, before registering for the opera programme at the UCT College of Music. The success of the stage production led Mark Dornford-May and Pauline Malefane to transform it into a feature film[149]. The dialogues were translated into isiXhosa by Pauline Malefane and the film was shot on location, in Khayelitsha, with inhabitants of the township as extras. Not only was the transposition of the action from Spain to an African township convincing, but the shooting of a film in Khayelitsha and the showing of the film in Khayelitsha were big affairs. Pauline Malefane recalls: "It was nice. People were very, very excited about the whole idea of a movie being shot in Khayelitsha in our language. People would sit and watch and listen, and in the end they would be interested in being extras. The scene at the end in the sports hall we had a thousand extras, so people feel very much a part of this project, because it's set in their township. And they love music. We have a very strong musical background in our culture." Mark Dornford-May adds that when the film was brought to Khayelitsha: "Towards the end, we were getting in a thousand people a day for three weeks. It was hugely positive. People really took it to heart and loved it. We had parties of school kids, old-age pensioners, people who'd come from work or at the weekends, when they had a day off. Right across the board, there was a genuine sense of pride that a film was shot in Khayelitsha. And a particular sense of pride that it wasn't a film as one might expect. It wasn't just about the difficult side of township life. There was an element of that, but it's a film that celebrates a sense of community in the township as much as it shows how rough it is", but also reveals the "wealth of talent that has so far been completely cut out of society."[150]



Pauline Malefane as Carmen, on the cover of the DVD *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha.*

The next step saw the same team rework Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *The Magic Flute*. Pamino's initiatory trials are translated as a Xhosa boy's initiation rite and the music is arranged for *marimbas* and drums, much of the action being choreographed in the style of African modern dance. Mark Dornford-May explains why, with *The Magic Flute*, he decided to introduce a *marimba* band in the stead of a classical opera orchestra: "[…] after our *Carmen* I felt we could go on a step, and replace the orchestra with an African sound, and this seemed the perfect piece with which to try it. It's all to do with reconciliation, which for South Africans one doesn't have to explain."[151] *The Magic Flute – Impempe Yomlingo* premiered at the Baxter in September–October 2007, before going to London's Young Vic Theatre, and Paris' Châtelet. *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha* and *The Magic Flute – Impempe Yomlingo* do arouse feelings of pride and intimate the possibility of reconciliation, but their signification probably goes deeper. They set on stage a process of appropriation whereby European classics are made South African, which, as with all processes of appropriation, contributes to a refashioning of the identity of those who are carrying out the appropriation. In these cases, Paul Ricœur's theory of "oneself as another" (Ricœur 1990) is given flesh as African artists become bearers of the universalism Georges Bizet and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart bestowed upon their characters.

The desire to overcome cosmopolitanism and syncretism to advance towards a universal humanism has also stirred guitarist and composer Mac McKenzie. For a long time he has been at the forefront of musical movements aimed at reworking Cape Town's popular music in order to create new forms which could be heard as both typically Capetonian and globally modern. After experimenting in this vein with the Genuines and the Goema Captains of Cape Town, he started working on the project of the *Goema Symphony* in 2005. The scores were completed around 2007, but could not be played because of organisational and financial difficulties. Finally, thanks to Swiss funding and the support of the Cape Town Composers' Workshop, a non-profit organisation created to help young composers and connect international musicians, Mac McKenzie managed to assemble a 25-piece orchestra comprising strings, trumpet, saxophone, banjo, guitars, percussion instruments (including *ghoema*) as well as musical bows, *mbira* and the voice of the Langa-based singer Madosini Latozi Mpahleni. Mac McKenzie's compositions, complemented by those of other members of the band such as trumpeter Mandla Mlangeni, do not try to merge the language of European classical music with *ghoema* melodies and rhythms. They look beyond a mere a attempt at achieving syncretic pieces and aim to present something radically new. Indeed, the title *Goema Symphony Number 1:*

The Journey includes the word symphony, which refers to European traditions; but it can also be understood on the basis of its Greek origin. *Sumphônia* (συμφωνία) conveys the idea of agreement, which is indissolubly the agreement of sounds and the agreement of feelings. Mac McKenzie's *Goema Symphony* as played in the Cape Town SABC studios in March 2011 must therefore be understood as a means to bring about an accord between the various musics of Cape Town, and the various feelings they arouse in the people who coexist in the Mother City. It combines the *ghoema* beat with the ting-a-ding, the ternary pulse, of jazz; the experimental guitar of Derek Gripper and a *Klopse* banjo; the runs of classical strings and the licks of jazz winds; the musical bow and the double bass; overtone singing and avant-garde onomatopoeias. The *Goema Symphony* is subtitled *The Journey*, it suggests an odyssey that began long before 1652, but has not yet reached its destination; its music is meant to give a renewed energy to Capetonians wishing to travel the road ahead together[152].

Rediscoveries and infinite adventures

Mac McKenzie's *Goema* orchestra includes a musical bow. This instrument has recently become an emblem of ancientness, the material sign that musics of the Cape are the outcome of a protracted evolution which started long before Europeans set foot on the shores of Table Bay. The musical bow is widespread across the world (Rycroft 1984c). In South Africa, Sotho, Tswana, Swazi, Zulu and Xhosa musicians, among others, play some form of musical bow. But the symbolic value granted to musical bows comes from the fact that it was played in Bushmen and Khoikhoi communities, the aboriginal populations who inhabited southern Africa before the arrival of Bantu-speaking migrants and, of course, European settlers. The bow connotes a continuity that stretches from the emergence of humankind to contemporary times and suggests local authenticity. It provides the evidence that local cultures flourished long before European colonisation. In addition to that, the musical characteristics of southern African bow repertoires – responsorial structures, staggered cycles, double tonic, scales based on the overtone series – are known to have greatly influenced the development of other musical forms in the region, an observation that easily leads to the conclusion that all contemporary musics are derived from the bow, therefore from the San and the Khoikhoi.

A bow was heard in Tananas' *Seed*, played by Gito Baloi[153], it is frequently used by Hilton Schilder, it has indeed prompted Michael Blake's Bow Project and features in the performances of the Khoi Khonnexion. But, before focusing on

contemporary productions centred around the bow, it is necessary to take into account other approaches which aimed at restoring some aspects of the past, and rejuvenating old-time musics. David Kramer teamed up with Hannes Coetzee, a guitar player from the Karoo, who uses idiosyncratic guitar-playing techniques, including a spoon held in the mouth. Hannes Coetzee was classified coloured during apartheid, but he is now presented as a "San Bushman-descendant [who] lives a peaceful life in the Karoo desert of South Africa, where he taps aloe juice for medicinal sale"[154]. They travelled rural regions of the Western and the Northern Cape in order to find musicians who could still play now almost extinct forms of music that David Kramer had heard when he was a child. They went to Namaqualand and the Great Karoo, interviewed and recorded musicians who often crafted their own instruments and remembered old songs and dances. Some of these rural artists were eventually invited to participate in the 2001 *Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees*, in Oudtshoorn, as well as in concerts held at the Baxter Theatre in October to November of the same year; their performances were recorded on tape and video[155]. The music they played bore the influence of Christian hymn singing, of European rural dance tunes, and sometimes, strangely enough, they were reminiscent of archaic American country and western. Yet it had something unmistakably special, a particular way of tuning the instruments, a taste for unusual timbres, a rhythmic feel that could not be related to other musics. David Kramer suggested that: "Little is known of the origins of this music. It is the music of shepherds and sheep shearers who are descendents of the original inhabitants of these semi-desert areas – the Khoi or more correctly, the Quena. This music has probably evolved in much the same way as the Afrikaans language that the musicians speak – a blend of indigenous and colonial influences."[156]

The music played by rural people, who were formerly classified coloured and have Khoikhoi and Bushmen ancestry, undeniably represents a branch that stemmed from an antique common trunk, out of which *boeremusiek* also grew. Alex van Heerden emphasised this filiation[157] and set about to draw from it in a creative manner with his group Gramadoelas[158]. He re-invented *vastrap*, *sakkie-sakkie*, country waltz, which he mixed with contemporary jazz, rock and electronic music, spicing it with pinches of *nederlands* melody and the musical bow. Alex van Heerden's vision of *boeremusiek* was at the same time rooted in testimonies of the past that could still be found in the rural areas, and in a futuristic vision. He wanted to create a music that would demonstrate that South African musics had more in common with each other than most South Africans assumed, and that 21st century creations should make the best use of these commonalities. Other

re-inventors of *boeremusiek* do not share such ambitions, but revisit it in a manner that cleanses it of the conservatism that is generally associated with it. The Radio Kalahari Orkes, fronted by writer Rian Malan and actor Ian Roberts around whom up to 20 other musicians can be gathered, revamps *boeremusiek* by singing lyrics, that deride the traditional Afrikaner world vision (regarding marriage, the fate of women, or Springbok fanaticism), and wittily mock the shady sides of the new South Africa[159]. The music is usually categorised as "folk". However, it draws not only from Afrikaner folk music, but from *ghoemaliedjies*, American country and western and 1950s and 60s pop music. The Radio Kalahari Orkes' inclination towards social criticism finds its source, and legitimacy, in the history of David de Lange. Their album *Die Nagloper*[160] is dedicated to the rehabilitation of this musician who embodied the working-class origins of *boeremusiek* and its rebel nature, who embraced any music, whatever its origins, to give strength and beauty to his songs. In the 1930s, David de Lange was the most popular Afrikaans singer in South Africa, but he was an embarrassment to the Afrikaner establishment, who made every effort to silence him, including banning him from the broadcasts of the SABC[161].

Although they do not use the word, and perhaps would not endorse the idea, the music imagined by Alex van Heerden and the leaders of the Radio Kalahari Orkes possesses a healing quality. It reveals another side of the Afrikaner story, and by showing that the roots of *boeremusiek* cannot be cut off from the rhizome of indigenous musics, it induces engagement with the new South Africa. Members of the Khoi Khonnexion explicitly present their performances as acts of healing. Poet Jethro Louw, musicians Glen Arendse and Garth Erasmus, who is also a visual artist, met in 1990 and decided that together they could invent a form of "edutainment" that was needed in post-apartheid South Africa. They basically work with sounds: the sounds of words and the sounds of the various instruments they often make themselves from indigenous models. They weave a sonic tapestry that conjures up images of a long-forgotten past with threads and colours that are decidedly contemporaneous[162]. It is their capacity to re-link concealed histories with the present that provides the ground for healing. When Garth Erasmus began to be interested in local instruments, especially in musical bows, he discovered through their forms and their sounds that the rich and ancient culture of indigenous people had been suppressed and that their descendants had been deprived of it. This is why, among the missions that the members of Khoi Khonnexion ascribe to their art, they mention "the exploration and promotion of first nation and indigenous history and culture through the mediums of spiritual,

performing and fine arts and sciences; contributing towards the restoration of cultural dignity in the alienated sectors of society; the development of awareness of our rich first nation heritage and its significance in our national memory and collective yearning for reconciliation."[163] From that perspective, Glen Arendse considers that healing "needs to counter the ills that have come with invasion, with genocide, with destruction, if that healing is not to be imposed by the very same perpetrators, and is to happen from the inside out, then I speak about healing, and I speak about self-healing, I speak about the requirement of a public process of healing. In terms of what we are doing, healing is taking public culture instruments to allow people to reconnect to their sense of belonging. That for me is a pivotal thing for as long as you don't belong you are going to be like a helium balloon or you are going to be somebody that thrives on drugging yourself into oblivion."

However, belonging does not mean looking back towards the past, but re-creating identities in the present likely to generate energies for devising the future. Garth Erasmus insists on the experimental dimension of Khoi Khonnexion's music: "The music that we do, even though it comes from the inspirational source of indigenous investigation and curiosity, there is a lot of experimentation that happens. There is not a sense of a strict musical tradition, but rather the opposite: of trying to break through and to create new traditions out of the old." For him, new traditions convey a sense of freedom: "One relationship I have to the music is this sense of freedom, and what is freedom, and trying to give a practical application to what we fought for for many years in a political sense."[164]

Similar ideas underlie the production of *Rock Art*[165]. Subtitled *Future Cape*, it is the fruit of the collaboration of Hilton Schilder and Alex van Herdeen, with the support of André Manuel of Dala Flat Records. Hilton Schilder's initial project was to apply electronic treatment, in particular pedal effects, to the musical bow. He started experimenting with André Manuel. Alex van Heerden then added his knowledge of Western Cape rural musics and his expertise in electronic music. The result is presented as "a story of the search for roots. Musical heritage. It is a story of past and present … and future meeting. Speaking one language, both ancient and modern. That language is music."[166] Invited to meetings arranged for this recording were: the musical bow, the *ghoema* beat, *Klops* tunes, South African pop songs, Abdullah Ibrahim's gospel chords, choir harmonies of rural Northern Cape, Brazilian rhythms and melodies, and electronic sound transformation techniques. André Manuel is unashamedly proud of this album: "It's very electronic, very modern, but it's got its roots within Cape Town. And everything that I have been

exposed to and I've been taught, whether it be by Hilton or Mac McKenzie or even in my childhood, it comes nicely through in that album."[167] *Rock Art* gives a musical feel of what Cape Town is today: an experiment in modernity that now wants to seize opportunities of looking back into ancient history, to assess all the potentialities of the present world. It is Cape Town, it is South Africa, and it is the world – what Édouard Glissant called the "Whole-World". Mac McKenzie, Hilton Schilder, Alex van Herdeen, members of the Khoi Khonnexion and even, in their own ways, the Radio Kalahari Orkes are weavers of Relation, artisans of a continuing creolisation which provides a framework to envision new identity configurations, structured not by separation and exclusiveness but by the re-establishment of solid links between an infinite local past and an always expanding world.

Freedom to Create

At the dawn of the third decade of South Africa's freedom, music can no longer be said to suffer from the "lack of direction" diagnosed by Rashid Lanie in 1990. Most musicians are looking toward the future, they aspire to play a role in the manner in which the future is construed and will be constructed. Their visions of what tomorrow should be like vary, but differences in conceptions and ways in which these are translated into reality nourish the effervescence that characterises the 1990s and the 2000s. This creative exuberance interlaces a desire for universality and a longing for roots: it involves the re-assessment and re-appropriation of roots with the aim of re-enchanting the past in order to imagine times to come. For now the past has been liberated and can be freely investigated – so much so that it has even become "unpredictable" as Evita Bezuidenhout would say in jest – and the future is open, available for every project. The musicians' imagination can now take advantage of a broadening of horizons caused both by the abolition of apartheid and the new technologies of information and communication. From this perspective, attempts at creating new musical forms are part and parcel of processes of reconfiguring identities. Musical creation operates, as always, by devising new organisations of sounds, which implies recycling legacies as well as appropriating and transforming discoveries made locally or collected in the outside world. The forward-looking attitude of musicians, their efforts to fashion music that would keep apace with a transforming South Africa while intimating ideals for a new society, attest that creolisation is still at work in South Africa and that music continues to participate actively in the networks of Relation that criss-cross the Whole-World.

Klopse, *Sangkore*, the *makwaya* and township jazz constitute the main streams of continuity which water the grounds on which creation grows in Cape Town. *Klopse* and *Sangkore* provide the *ghoema* beat, which has become one of the main musical symbols of the Mother City. The *makwaya* have preserved and modernised ancient forms of polyphony that served as models for freedom songs and still infuse instrumental and vocal music. Township jazz perpetuates the incessant movement of *marabi* three-chord cycles, the foundation of every black South African music. It is therefore no surprise that the most comprehensive effort to restore and re-imagine a musical past that apartheid endeavoured to erase, Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying, systematically investigated the history of these four genres to propose new memories inducing self-esteem and self-confidence, therefore giving the youth a sense of agency likely to enable them to actively participate in shaping the future of South Africa. The workshops and the show organised within the framework of Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying tied together threads gathered by authors and composers of musicals, and, in their own particular way, by the rejuvenators of *boeremusiek*. *Boeremusiek*, as such, did not feature in the workshops, but the intentions of the leaders of the Radio Kalahari Orkes and of Alex van Heerden converged with the aims of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. Behind the burlesque of the Orkes, the listener can hear a will to dust off *boeremusiek*, to rid it of the conventionality it has been imbued with, and to bring back in full light the rebel spirit embodied by David de Lange. Alex van Heerden wanted to go further: he investigated the origins of *boeremusiek* in order to demonstrate that its was essentially mixed, and that, blended with jazz and electronics, it could be used as one of the ingredients in the preparation of a yet never-heard South African music. Along the way he encountered the bow, as did Hilton Schilder, Mac McKenzie and the members of Khoi Khonnexion. In their minds and hands, the bow became the link that could tie the future of South Africa to its past and, at the same time, bind the specificities of the country to the universality of humankind.

New appropriations took place on the basis of re-appropriation and re-assessment of the past. Hip-hop musicians enriched the model of American rap by instilling in it borrowings from gospel, reggae, Trinidadian *soca* and Brazilian rhythms. They asserted their Capetonian roots while claiming their membership of a wider universe in which Brazil and the Caribbean appear as beacons of counter-modernities. When members of Brasse Vannie Kaap meet with the punk-rock band from Pretoria Not My Dog[168], the musical collage stirs up a dynamics that – because its pessimistic vision of contemporary South African society, coupled with

a maelstrom of musical references – disrupts any clear-cut notion of "identity". According to Christopher Ballantine: "The music is vested in multiplicity and disjuncture. As each chosen style is 'unsettled', space is opened for the importation of other – extraneous – musical sources: what is thus conjured in audibility, in the most striking way, is the sound of the group searching for other and different identities. As stylistic distinctions start to collapse, categories such as 'us' and 'them' begin to merge, or at least to draw closer together. If not yet quite transformed, identity appears as unsettled and changing: the music takes to heart the potential diversity of contemporary South African experience and revels in the confusion and potential of this multifarious, multilingual, multicultural and multimusical dystopia" (Ballantine 2004: 125). Going in a totally different direction, Mark Dornford-May and Pauline Malefane intended to show how European classics and African expressive languages could be merged. American contemporary Christian music contributed to revitalise South African hymn singing. Re-appropriations and new appropriations – which always imply the transformation of whatever is borrowed – are but steps towards creation. *Marimba* bands give an example of modernisation on the basis of invented pan-South African and pan-African traditions. In the field of "art" music, Michael Blake, in his personal compositions as well as in his steering of the Bow Project, suggested approaches to musical composition in which musical symbols of Africa – indigenous instruments, including the bow, and the repertoire they play – enter in a dialogue with European traditions, from which emerge a yet unknown global language.

Inventions absorbing symbols of the past to engage the present have, according to many musicians, a healing power. This is the firm conviction of the members of the Khoi Khonnexion, and, even if the word healing is not used, it permeates the works of Alex van Heerden, Hilton Schilder, Mac McKenzie, the "Old Skool" rappers, André Manuel and Michael Blake. What is to be healed is obviously the legacy of apartheid: not only segregation, but primarily the internalisation of the presupposition that differences between human beings create inequalities in capacities and prevent free interaction and unrestricted exchanges. Musical collaborations, appropriations, integrations of elements of one genre into another, in spite of the separate identities they were previously associated with, demonstrate that music knows no frontier and that creation is nobody's preserve, but is instead a field which every human being can plough to bring about her or his own brand of mixed modernity.

It seems that only Afrikaans rock remains shut away in an enclave. There have been decided efforts to update the genre. Valiant Swart, for example, seems to

be the most convincing heir to the *Voëlvry* movement, and perpetuates in his folk-rock songs an anti-establishment attitude. Most Afrikaans rockers still rely musically on international rock, and aim primarily at addressing the problem of reconfiguring an Afrikaner identity, which rock songsters – like the musicians of the *Voëlvry* movement – seem to assume can be done by reworking the language. Yet, keeping rock immune from other Capetonian musics – instead of going back to the mixed origins of Afrikaans and *boeremusiek*, as Alex van Heerden and the Radio Kalahari Orkes have done – does not seem to lead to serious thinking over the place of Afrikaners in the new South Africa, but rather tends to keep them relatively isolated from other South Africans. Other rock aggregations have not hesitated to engage the question of identity/ties and to offer musical creations that transcend former categories, and invent new ways of defining one's voluntary affiliations and desired identifications, even if that means fantasising or inventing unknown ways of being human. Commenting on the Springbok Nude Girls' album *Afterlifesatisfaction*[169], Chris Ballantine wrote: "As much as anything, this CD seems to be about invention (riotously so), about the transcendence of reified barriers, about imagining the unimaginable, bridging the incommensurable, realising the impossible. What enables this is an attitude of playfulness: more precisely, of playing at, of posturing; a ludic stance that creates ironic distance from the real. And the postures are not 'merely' musical; they also play at, or with, ways of being. Coming from a white band addressed in the main to a white audience, these postures seek also to liberate: to re-invent ways of being white and South African. These are musical images that represent identity as malleable, and as a quest – even if this sometimes puts coherence itself at risk" (Ballantine 2004: 126).

As exemplified by the Springbok Nude Girls, during the 1990s and 2000s, with the exception of Afrikaans rock, Cape Town musics have evolved in concert with mutations in the way identities are construed and constructed. Music's input in these processes has consisted in providing a stock of symbolic references that could be used to reconfigure identities. New musical mixes underline that identities need not, must not be exclusive but, on the contrary, are necessarily situational, fluctuating and ephemeral (Brubaker et al. 2006). They are nurtured by the dynamics of creolisation and develop relational and rhizomatic networks which overlap and cross-fertilise. Africa is symbolised by all that derived from *marabi*, especially African jazz and township jive, and instruments such as *mbiras* and *marimbas*. Cape Town is signified through the *ghoema* beat, carnival songs and the fragrances of *nederlandsliedjies* and *karienkels*. Finally, the musical bow

condenses: Africa as the cradle of humanity, the aboriginal inhabitants of southern Africa, the Western Cape and Cape Town. Local legacies are re-signified and blended with musics from elsewhere which are perceived as emblems of modernity and counter-modernity: genres from the United States that have pollinated South African music since the 19th century (popular songs, spirituals and gospels, jazz), to which rap has been added, and harmonies and rhythms from Africa north of the Limpopo (especially from the Republic of the Congo), from Brazil and from the Caribbean. To put it in a nutshell, the transformations undergone by Cape Town musics during the past two decades have been fuelled by new accesses to freedom, which also transformed the conception of identities: freedom to choose, freedom to appropriate, freedom to mix, freedom to transform and freedom to create.

Notes

1. For instance, Manu Dibango, Salif Keita and Angélique Kidjo were among the African musicians who performed in South Africa in the 1990s.
2. *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage 1996*, Pretoria, Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 4 June 1996 (http://www.dac.gov.za/white_paper.htm; accessed 24/02/2011).
3. http://web.mac.com/larryhol/iWeb/Perspectives%20Extra/Bush%20Radio--Cape%20Town.html (accessed 24/02/2011); see also: http://www.bushradio.co.za/ (accessed 24/02/2011).
4. http://www.fmr.co.za/ (accessed 24/02/2011).
5. SAMA was a musicians' organisation created in 1987 to deal with "issues affecting musicians from day to day", among others the cultural boycott and dishonest record contracts; in 1994 it was transformed into a musicians' union: the Musicians' Union of South Africa (MUSA) affiliated with COSATU.
6. Interview with Rashid Lanie, recorded on 14 December 1990 at SAMA's offices, published in French in "*Afrique du Sud : des musiciens parlent*", *Jazz Magazine*, 415, May 1992: 48–51; re-translated from the French by the author.
7. Interview recorded by Lorraine Roubertie in Paris, March 2006; quoted in Roubertie 2006: 71; re-translated from the French by the author.
8. Opinions judging the Coon Carnival disgusting and submissive are quoted and analysed in Martin 1999: 117–130.
9. For instance, the District Six Development Minstrels in 2006 and the Hollywood Superstars, who in 2008 paraded with a board in the image of Nelson Mandela (Mason 2010: 29).
10. The Iziko Museums of Cape Town is an umbrella organisation under which operate the most important museums and art galleries of the Mother City; it is a non-profit organisation partially funded by the national Department of Arts and Culture. On the carnival exhibition see the catalogue: *Ghoema and Glitter: New Year Carnival in Cape Town*, Cape Town, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2010, and: Brent Meersman, "'Klopse' alive and kicking against authority", http://mg.co.za/article/2011-01-14-klopse-alive-and-kicking-against-authority/ (accessed 19/01/2011); http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/john_edwin_mason_photogra/2010/06/iziko-ghoema-glitter.html (accessed 19/01/2011).
11. See: *COGE: The Cape of Great Events 2002*, a brochure published by the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Tourism Board, Cape Town, City of Cape Town, 2002.
12. Helen Zille, provincial premier of the Western Cape and former mayor of Cape Town declared: "We've just got to organise the Minstrels better because we spend a lot of public funds. It can be a world-class event if managed better" (quoted in Babalo Ndenze, "Minstrels make their voices heard", http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/minstrels-make-their-voices-heard-1.1007309; accessed 24/02/2011), a declaration that strangely echoes a comment made in 1936 by I.D. du Plessis who said that "[…] there was material in the carnival which, if properly organised, would be one of Cape Town's biggest attractions during the festive season" (*The Cape Times*, 6 January 1936).
13. Fouzia van der Fort, "Kaapse Klopse banned in Bo-Kaap", http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kaapse-klopse-banned-in-bo-kaap-1.469080 (accessed 24/02/2011).
14. Brent Meersman, "'Klopse' alive and kicking against authority", http://mg.co.za/article/2011-01-14-klopse-alive-and-kicking-against-authority/ (accessed 19/01/2011).
15. In the *Mail & Guardian Online*, Brent Meersman describes the conflicting views on the carnival as follows: "Official-speak about the carnival is often condescending. The city

doesn't seem to realise that the event is one for the people by the people. On November 23 [2010] a new plan 'to preserve, develop and grow the Cape minstrel heritage and associated events' was announced by the provincial government and the City of Cape Town, with the intention of making the carnival 'a world-class feature that can eventually compare with the famous carnivals in Brazil, [and] the New Orleans Mardi Gras'. Dr Ivan Meyer, the provincial minister of cultural affairs and sport, talks of 'attracting commercial and more spectator interest'. Taking ownership away from the community, even to the extent of renaming it the Cape Town Mardi Gras as one proposal did, poses a major threat to the lifeblood of the carnival. Some of the minstrel associations are tempted by such talk but the real potential they see in the event is not as a tourist spectacle but in its positive benefits for the community." Brent Meersman, "'Klopse' alive and kicking against authority", http://mg.co.za/article/2011-01-14-klopse-alive-and-kicking-against-authority/ (accessed 19/01/2011).

16. On the Cape Town Carnival, see: http://www.capetowncarnival.com/?q=con,1,HOME (accessed 8/07/2011).
17. See: Conclusion.
18. Interview with Billy Baatjes, Kensington, 27 November 2007.
19. Interview with Ikey Gamba, Kensington, 8 November 2007.
20. See: http://www.eisteddfod.co.za/ (accessed 28/02/2011).
21. http://www.uctchoir.uct.ac.za/UCT_Choir/About.html (accessed 28/02/2011).
22. Phumelele "Phumi" Tsewu is now teaching in a Philippi high school, where he is organising another choir.
23. Interview with Phumi Tsewu, recorded at Artscape, 16 October 2007 and presentation by Phumi Tsewu during the round-table on "What is Cape Town music?", Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Studies (STIAS), 13 November 2007. On the Fezeka High School Choir, see: *Fezeka's Voices*, a documentary film directed by Holly Lubbock, produced by Katherine Crawley and Joanne Fishburn, London, Ciel Productions, 2010.
24. The original words as well as their English translation can be found at: http://episcopal.wordpress.com/2010/05/22/whats-in-a-song/ (accessed 1/03/2011).
25. http://www.libertas.co.za/index-english.php (accessed 1/03/2011).
26. Taliep Petersen interviewed in: *Music in Islam*, a documentary directed by Munier Parker, produced by Shareef Cullis, Stonehouse productions, SABC, 2000.
27. Ismail Philander during an interview with Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander, recorded on 30 October 2007 in Kensington.
28. Interview with Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander, recorded on 30 October 2007 in Kensington.
29. A form of devotional Sufi music widespread in South-East Asia.
30. Raji Divajee during an interview with Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander, recorded on 30 October 2007 in Kensington.
31. Launched in 1999 as the Cape Town North Sea Jazz Festival, an offshoot off the North Sea Jazz Festival held in The Hague, the Cape Town International Jazz Festival is now independent and run by a South African company.
32. Hotep Idris Galeta, *Malay Tone Poem*, Johannesburg, Sheer Sound, 2002 (SSCD 083).
33. Interview with Wayne Bosch, recorded in Parow on 12 October 2007.
34. On the development of jazz education in South Africa and Cape Town, see: Roubertie 2012.
35. Interview with George Werner, recorded at the Baxter Theatre, Cape Town on 2 November 2007.
36. A CD produced by the music department gives a sample of the variety of music played by staff members and students: *UCT JAZZ: Full Spectrum*, Cape Town, UCT's Department of Communication and Marketing, 2006 (CDUCT 002).

37. Interview with Samuel J. Jonker, recorded at the Athlone Academy of Music, Belgravia, Athlone, 21 November 2007.
38. http://capemusicinstitute.com/home (accessed 1/03/2011).
39. See: Fred Khumalo, "Kiss of life from the jazz doctor", *Sunday Times*, 10 July 2005: 15.
40. Interview with George Werner, recorded in Cape Town on 2 November 2007; the 2006 Little Giants can be heard, along with Robbie Jansen and Ezra Ngcukana on: *Ungalibali (Don't Forget)*, Cape Town, Little Giants Productions, 2006 (LILG 001).
41. Interview with Ian Smith recorded on 11 November 2009, at the College of Music, University of Cape Town; see: http://www.iansmithmusicproductions.com/Home.html (accessed 1/03/2011).
42. Carlo Mombelli is a guitarist and composer who has been active on the South African jazz scene since 1983. He is today considered as one of the most innovative South African musicians; he has played with the best South African jazz musicians and composed music for saxophone quartet, string quartet, piano and wind ensemble as well as soundtracks for films; see: http://www.carlomombelli.com/Home.html (accessed 30/04/2011).
43. Marcus Wyatt, *Africans in Space*, Cape Town, Sheer Sound, 2005 (SSCD 057).
44. Shannon Mowday, *African Eyes*, Sydney, Origin Music Group, 2006.
45. Schalk Joubert, *Kayamandi*, Cape Town, Mountain Records, 2007 (CD MOU 4494).
46. Paul Hanmer, *Trains To Taung*, Johannesburg, Sheer Sound, 2001 (SSCD 024 A).
47. Kyle Shepherd Trio, *A Portrait of Home*, Cape Town, Jassics, 2010. The final track, titled "*Die Goema*" is a clear evocation of *ghoemaliedjies* and *Klopse* music, and is built around a melodic motive that is used by Hannes Coetzee in *Karoo Kitaar Blues*.
48. Wessel van Reensburg, McCoy Mrubata, *Kulturation*, Melville, Grasland Records, 2005.
49. Tribe (Mark Fransman, piano; Buddy Wells, saxophone; Charles Lazar, double bass, Kesivan Naidoo, drums), *Our Language*, Johannesburg, Ready Rolled, 2003 (RRRCD 03).
50. Mark Fransman's Strait and Narro, *Ahead*, Cape Town, Bowline, 2006.
51. Kwanele Sosibo, "A man of many whims", *Mail & Guardian*, 26 October 2007.
52. The original Tananas disbanded in 1993; Ian Herman and Steve Newman re-launched it in 1994, without Gito Baloi; eventually the three founders were re-united, recorded the album *Seed* in 1999 and participated in WOMAD 2000. The assassination of Gito Baloi in April 2004 marked the tragic end of the group.
53. Jonathan Butler, a Cape Town guitarist and singer, began recording in the 1970s and participated in Pacific Express; he became rapidly successful, so much so that he was the first black artist to appear on the playlists of white radio stations. He later moved to Great Britain then the United States where he made it big in RnB and contemporary gospel. In many ways, Jonathan Butler appears as a forerunner of the fusions Cape Town will later accommodate.
54. Allou April, *Colourful World*, Johannesburg, Sheer Sound, 2005 (SSCD 124).
55. Among whom Peter Cohen, who played drums with Bright Blue.
56. Quotations are taken from: http://www.freshlyground.com/#/the%20band/ (accessed 4/03/2011).
57. *Y Magazine*, August–September 2007: 14. *Mzansi* is a colloquial word meaning south and, by extension, South Africa.
58. Arno Carstens (vocals),Theo Crous (guitar), Arno Blumer (bass) and François Kruger (drums).
59. Mike Hardy (vocals), Dave van der Linden (guitar), Schalk van der Merwe (bass), Tim Rankin (percussion). Bed on Bricks probably refers to some South Africans' custom to set the feet of their bed on bricks to avoid being visited by *Tokoloshes* (little impish hairy creatures nobody has ever seen) during their sleep.

60. Douglas Rodger, "Interview: Bed on Bricks", 26 November 2008 (http://www.mio.co.za/article/interview-bed-on-bricks-2008-11-26; accessed 4/03/2011).
61. François Badenhorst (vocals), Johnny de Ridder (lead guitar), Hunter Kennedy (vocals, rhythm guitar), Wynand Myburgh (bass), Jaco Venter, then Justin Kruger (drums).
62. 5FM is the grandchild of Maputo's Radio LM which became Radio 5, emitting from medium-wave transmitters, when it was taken over by the SABC. It then shifted to frequency modulation and was re-named 5FM. It basically plays Top 40 songs and follows closely South African musical fads; its announcers are fairly representative of South African demographics.
63. Bertie Coetzee (vocals, guitar), Basson Laubscher (vocals, guitar), Beitel van der Merwe (vocals, bass), Beer Adriaanse (vocals, drums).
64. Le Roi Nel (lead vocals, guitar), Neil Basson (vocals, lead guitar), Alex Fourie (backing vocals, keyboards, trumpet), John Havemann (bass), Dirkie Uys (drums).
65. Douglas Rodger, "*Foto Na Dans: Pantomime op Herwinbare Klanke*" (http://www.mio.co.za/article/foto-na-dans-pantomime-op-herwinbare-klanke-2009-05-15; accessed 4/03/2011).
66. A selection of rock groups which have not been cited here can be heard on*: Die Eerste Avontuur*, Stellenbosch, De Plate Kompanje, 2006 (DPK003).
67. Interview with Bertie Coetzee, recorded in Stellenbosch, 23 October 2007.
68. Adam Small (1936–) is one of the most revered Afrikaans poets. Born in Wellington in 1936, classified coloured under apartheid, he used irony and humour to expose racism and segregation. The recent addition of his bust to the Taal Monument (the monument to the Afrikaans language) symbolised his recognition as one the important 20th century representatives of Afrikaans literature.
69. "*Shosholoza*" was introduced into South Africa by migrant workers originating from the south of Zimbabwe. It has been used as a work song by miners and rapidly reached beyond the mine compounds to become a popular tune conveying support, solidarity and encouragement, especially on the occasion of sports games involving South African national teams.
70. Hendrik Hofmeyr was born in 1957 in Cape Town. He studied music and musicology at the University of Cape Town where he started to teach in 1998; he is now an associate professor at UCT and teaches or has taught courses on analysis, conducting, harmony, music history and music theory.
71. "Prayer for the Bones" is based on the history of a Boer leader in the Anglo-Boer war, Commandant Gideon Scheepers, who was eventually taken prisoner by the British, executed, and whose remains have never been found (http://boerekryger.co.za/artikels_files/BOER-HEROES-OF-GERMAN-DESCEND.html; accessed 14/12/2010).
72. "And from the shoreless vastness let the ages / arise now with the power of life itself / and like a wave break o'er into our being / a shining pathway to the stars themselves." Quotations taken from the liner notes of the CD: Hendrik Hofmeyr, *Sinfonia Africana*, Cape Town, Cape Philharmonic Orchestra, 2004 (Sabina Mossolow, soprano; the Stellenbosch University Choir; the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Leslie B. Dunner).
73. Michael Blake was born in Cape Town in 1951. He studied at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and attended summer courses in Darmstadt and Dartington with Mauricio Kagel, György Ligeti and Peter Maxwell Davies. Then, at the invitation of Stanley Glasser, he furthered his studies at the University of London Goldsmiths College. He decided to stay in Great Britain in 1977 and re-settled in South Africa in 1998 where he taught at Rhodes University and founded a music festival called the New Music Indaba.
74. Quoted at: http://www.michaelblake.co.za/biography.html (accessed 7/03/2011).
75. Liner notes for the CD: *Complete Works for Solo Piano 1994–2004*, performed by Jill Richards, Cape Town, MBED Records, 2008 (MBED 001).

76. Michael Blake, Mokale Koapeng, Paul Hanmer, Robert Fokkens, Lloyd Prince, Sazi Dlamini, Jürgen Bräuninger, Kristian Blak, Matteo Fargion, Atli Petersen, Martin Scherzinger, Julia Raynham and Theo Herbst.
77. See: http://www.michaelblake.co.za/index.html (accessed 7/03/2011); the pieces composed in echo to the music of Nofinishi Dywili have been recorded by the Danish Nightingale String Quartet; a two CD box-set includes the original songs as played by Nofinishi Dywili (who died in June 2002) and recorded by David Dargie, and the compositions for string quartet: Nightingale String Quartet, Nofinishi Dywili, *The Bow Project*, Tórshavn (Faroe Islands), Tutl Records, 2010 (FKT 044).
78. See also: http://www.cpo.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72&Itemid=134; accessed 7/03/2010.
79. The UCT College of Music offers a Performer's Diploma in Opera (http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/sacm/diploma.html (accessed 1/03/2011).
80. Angelo Gobbato, "Angelo Gobbato remembers the history of opera in Cape Town and the beginnings of Cape Town Opera", 6 June 2009 (http://kaganof.com/kagablog/category/categories/eoan-group/; accessed 23/08/2010).
81. On *Kwaito*, see: Stephens 2000.
82. Although hip-hop is an umbrella movement which accommodates three main disciplines, graffiti, breakdance and rap, it is often used to speak specifically of rap. MCs utter chanted texts, often referred to as "rhymes", even if they do not rhyme; DJs organise the sonic background with turntables on which they play excerpts from 33 rpm LPs, to which they apply particular effects such as "scratches", and with computers they download samples of other recordings or pre-recorded elements they have themselves composed. For a general introduction to rap, see: George 1998; Rose 1994.
83. Afrika Bambaataa (Kevin Donovan) is a DJ from the Bronx who is considered as one of the fathers of rap. A former gangster, he realised how much violence and drug abuse were detrimental to black youth. He decided to use the new musical genre which was being invented by a few DJs to rehabilitate and uplift underprivileged and stigmatised communities. After seeing the film *Zulu*, he adopted the name of a Zulu chief, Bhambatha, who led a rebellion against the poll tax in 1906. Around 1978, he founded the Zulu Nation to try and organise supporters of hip-hop culture around moral ideals summarised in the motto: "peace, unity, love, and having fun". The Zulu Nation went international in the 1980s and a chapter of the Zulu Nation was later opened in Cape Town (Watkins 2004:130).
84. For instance, POC evokes Abdullah Ibrahim's "Mannenberg" in "Roots Resurrected", *Ghetto Code*, Johannesburg, Gallo, 1997.
85. Interview with Emile YX? (Emile Jansen), recorded on 21 November 2007 in Cape Town.
86. *Age of Truth*, Johannesburg, Tusk Music,1993.
87. *Hip-Hop Won't Stop*, Maitland, Nebula Bos Records, 1998.
88. *Roar,* "Live It Loud", Cape Town, Cape Flats Uprising, ca. 2009.
89. "Intro", *BVK*, Johannesburg, Ghetto Ruff, 1997.
90. Literally: the small pot food, a layered South African stew of meat and vegetables cooked over open coals. Both "*Potjiekos*" and "*Die Blikkie se Boem*" are included in *Yskoud*, Johannesburg, Ghetto Ruff, 2000.
91. Funny Carp released their first CD in 1998. They perform a kind of melodious rap that sometimes borders on RnB. Their name is already a pun introducing a connotation of "funny" in what can be heard as *vannie Kaap* (from the Cape).
92. http://www.sovereignexpress.com/?w=epk&b=1035 (accessed 7/03/2011).

93. Black Noise, "Who Taught You to Hate Yourself?", *Rebirth*, Cape Town, Black Noise Records, 1995; quoted in: Haupt 2008: 189.
94. Black Noise, "Systems Got You", *Circles of Fire*, Cape Town, Black Noise Records, 2001.
95. "Understand Where I'm Coming From", *Age of Truth*, Cape Town, Tusk Music, 1993; see: Battersby 2003: 115.
96. *BVK*, Johannesburg, Ghetto Ruff, 1997.
97. "I Remember District Six", *Ghetto Code*, Johannesburg, Gallo, 1997 (quoted in: Watkins 2004: 128). The snoek is a fish (*Thyrsites atun*) which is particularly liked in Cape Town. During the snoek season (April to mid-June) fishmongers used to drive their carts in the streets and blow a small copper horn to advertise the fish.
98. Interview with Emile YX?, recorded on 21 November 2007 in Cape Town.
99. Adam Haupt explains how Bush Radio uses rap as an educational tool: "[…] hip-hop continues to be a valuable vehicle for educating youth in Cape Town. Whilst a significant amount of interesting activity still happens on stage and in recording studios […] it is community radio station Bush Radio's hip-hop theory and practical workshop sessions that hold the key to ensuring that hip-hop's potential for developing critical literacies and facilitating the empowerment of diverse members of Cape Town's new generation of hip-hop 'heads' is realised" (Haupt 2008: 145).
100. "Nobody Knows", *Hip-Hop Won't Stop*, Maitland, Nebula Bos Records, 1998 (quoted in: Battersby 2003: 121).
101. See: *Rap against Racism*, Cape Town, Molo Songololo, 1995; a booklet and an audio cassette. Molo Songololo is a child rights organisation that was established in 1980 and aims at the protection of children and the dismantling of apartheid divisions.
102. Interview with members of Amampondo, recorded in Cape Town on 22 October 1992.
103. *Heartbeat of Africa, Uyandibiza*, Cape Town, Mountain Records, 1983.
104. Sahm Venter, "Amampondo", *Die Vrye Weekblad*, 25 September 1992: 8.
105. Interview with members of Amampondo, recorded in Cape Town on 22 October 1992.
106. Although the repertoires of these bands rely heavily on two typical South African techniques: the double tonic (the alternation in a piece of two foundation notes, often a tone apart, from which derive two scales) frequently heard in Nguni musical bow music and polyphonies and the three-chord cycle of *marabi*.
107. Interview with members of the Hlanganani Traditional Group, recorded in Langa on 3 October 2007.
108. "In the case of counter-modernity, it is no longer a genuine tradition which translates the workings of continuity within a society that is constantly changing (and consequently claims to have a monopoly on modernity), but an engineered and syncretic tradition which expresses a contestation of this society's orders" Balandier 1971: 110.
109. See: *Census 2001: Primary Tables Western Cape, Census '96 and 2001 Compared*, Pretoria, Statistics South Africa, 2005: 24–28.
110. "Praise ye the Lord. Praise God in his sanctuary: praise him in the firmament of his power. Praise him for his mighty acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness. Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psaltery and harp. Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs. Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him upon the high sounding cymbals" (*King James Bible*, Psalms 150: 1–5).
111. Glenn Robertson, *It's Certainly Grace*, Cape Town, MAP, 2001; *Africa Your Healing Time Has Come*, Cape Town, MAP, 2005.
112. Leigh Erasmus, *Jesus You're the Power*, Cape Town, MAP, nd.
113. Robbie Jansen, *Praises*, Cape Town, Heart Audiovisual Enterprises, 1998.

114. Pieter Coffee en Vriende, *Dit Is Tyd, 'n Uitnoding tot Intimiteit*, Douglas, Endtime Worship, 2002.
115. Evan Rogers, *The Evan Rogers Collection*, Cape Town, New Frontiers, nd.
116. Lofdal World Prayer Centre South Africa, *Born for a Time Such as This*, Cape Town, LWPC Music, 2000.
117. Trevor Sampson, *Restoration*, Randburg, Instinct Africaine, 2004.
118. Interview with Glenn Robertson, recorded on 28 November 2007 in Rondebosch. I would like to express my gratitude to Glenn Robertson, who provided most of the information on which this paragraph is based, and gave me a large sample of contemporary Christian recordings.
119. Interview with Glenn Robertson, recorded on 28 November 2007 in Rondebosch.
120. Interview with Xulon Music Tech students, recorded on 16 October 2007 in Kensington.
121. Interview with Glenn Robertson, recorded on 28 November 2007 in Rondebosch.
122. http://www.epp.org.za/evita_bezuidenhout_cv.htm (accessed 27/04/2011).
123. Fred Khumalo, "Time for us to celebrate South Africa's workaday champions", *Sunday Times*, 30 September 2007.
124. Evan Milton, "The very best of the Cape", *The Good Weekend*, 18 November 2007: 3.
125. See: http://www.ijr.org.za/publications/songs.php (accessed 27/04/2011).
126. eSongbook CD Rom.
127. "Mannenberg" by Abdullah Ibrahim; "Seventh Avenue" by Johathan Butler; "*Yakhal' Inkomo*" by Winston Mankunku Ngozi; "*Mra*" by Christopher Columbus Ngcukana; "You think you know me (but you'll never know me)" by Mongezi Feza; "Montreal" by Tony Schilder; "Cape Samba" by McCoy Mrubata.
128. Quotations taken from notes jotted down during the workshop "Cape Jazz and Afro Jazz", held on 27 October 2007, at the Nassau Auditorium, Newlands.
129. See: chapter 3, p. 158.
130. Literally, the *kanala* village; one of the etymologies of *kanala* traces it to a word meaning "please" in Javanese, suggesting that give-and-take and mutual support were rules of life in District Six (McCormick 2002: 48).
131. *Fairyland*, programme notes, 1994.
132. Last verse of the song "*Lagunya*", included in the CD: *In the Days of District Six: Songs from the Musicals of David Kramer and Taliep Petersen*, Cape Town, Blik Music, 2000 (BLIK 05).
133. David Kramer, *Ghoema*, programme notes.
134. A French version of the Neapolitan song "*Guaglione*", "*Bambino*" was recorded by French Egyptian-born singer Dalida and was an immediate success; it was internationally covered by many singers. It surfaces in "Down at the Harbour".
135. "The Little Shoemaker" is a song based on a tale by Hans Christian Andersen, composed by Rudi Devil, with English words by Geoff Parsons and John Turner; it was recorded by Petula Clark, the Gaylords, Alma Cogan and several other artists in 1954.
136. Peter Frost, "Passionate song and dance about the bad old slave days", *The Cape Times*, 22 May 1996.
137. The Golden City Dixies went through several productions, starting in 1949, and served as a springboard for a number of Cape Town singers and musicians, such as Jonathan Butler, Kenny and Harold Jephta, Arthur Gillies, Elisabeth Julius and Yusuf Williams. After the orchestra backing the Golden City Dixies disbanded, Harold Jephta studied European classical music and got a position as clarinettist in a Swedish symphony orchestra (Muller 2008: 194). See: "Golden Dixies friends and families", http://www.facebook.com/pages/Golden-City-Dixies-friends-and-family/196128151721?closeTheater=1 (accessed

27/04/2011). Part of the information used here comes from unreferenced press clippings kindly provided by Mr Yusuf Williams (a.k.a. Joe Curtis).

138. From an interview with Ian Murray, Wetton, 29 November 2001.
139. A song composed by Strike Vilakazi when Sophiatown was razed and popularised by Nancy Jacobs and Miriam Makeba.
140. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1996.
141. The music of *A Crash of Cultures* has been recorded under the title: *Intsholo*, Cape Town, Mountain Records, 1995 (AM 00282).
142. The complete recordings of Charlie Parker with string ensembles has been reissued by Verve: *Charlie Parker with Strings: The Master Takes*, Verve, 1995 (CD 314 523 984-2).
143. Stan Getz, *Focus*, Verve Original Series, 2006.
144. *The Symphonic Ellington*, Reprise, 1963.
145. Didier Levallet Swing Strings System, *Eurydice*, Paris, Evidence/Frémeaux, 2002 (FA 460). Didier Levallet was for several years a member of Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath.
146. A similar programme had already been presented in the Johannesburg City Hall on 29 and 30 April of the same year, with the National Symphony Orchestra.
147. Programme notes.
148. Abdullah Ibrahim, *African Suite for Trio and String Orchestra*, Munich, Enja, 1998 (JENJ 3314-2); Abdullah Ibrahim, *African Symphony*, Munich, Enja, 2001 (ENJ 9410 2).
149. *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha*, Spier Films, 2005; the film was awarded a Golden Bear for best film at the 2005 Berlin Film Festival.
150. *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha*, Q&A with director Mark Dornford-May and Pauline Malefane, http://www.phase9.tv/moviefeatures/ucarmenekhayelitshaq&a-markdornfordmay&paulinemalefane1.shtml (accessed 8/03/2011).
151. Michael Church, "Mozart magic meets African brilliance", *Monday,* 4 February 2008, http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/reviews/the-magic-flute-impempe-yomlingo-duke-of-yorks-theatre-london-777628.html (accessed 8/03/2011).
152. See: http://soundsandsites.blogspot.com/2011/03/ghoema-orchestra-review.html (accessed 28/04/2011; www.profoundlysouthafrican.co.za/…/mckenzie_bio_goema_orchestra).pdf; accessed 28/04/2011; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pRRuZ3xccd0 (accessed 28/04/2011).
153. Tananas, *Seed*, Sony/Epic, 1999 (CDEPC 8102 T).
154. Adriana Stuijt, "Think you can play the guitar? Try a spoon…", http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/263133#ixzz1KturUaFX (accessed 29/04/2011).
155. *Karoo Kitaar Blues*, Cape Town, Blik, 2002 (CD BLIK 07); *Karoo Kitaar Blues*, directed by Lisa Key, Cape Town, Key Films/Blik Productions, 2004 (DVD BLIK 11/DV).
156. *Karoo Kitaar Blues*, presentation text of the DVD box-set.
157. Alex van Heerden, "What is *vastrap*? Workshop with the *Ghoema* Captains of Cape Town", The Bird's Eye Jazz Club, Basel, 8 April 2006, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MYxH9NjFQVI&feature=player_embedded#! (accessed 21/09/ 2010); see chapter 3: pp. 32–33.
158. *Gramadoelas*, Cape Town, CDT, 1999 (HEART 002).
159. Die Radio Kalahari Orkes, *Opgestook*, Randburg, EMI, 2006 (CDEMIMD WA 200).
160. *Die Nagloper: Die musiek van David de Lange gespeel deur die Radio Kalahari Orkes*, Sony/BMG, 2007 (TERRACD 01).
161. See: chapter 3: p. 143, and visit: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WOLAlbk2AvE&feature=related; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sbTWbZaIcJo&feature=related; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ocIy7QgK5rI&feature=related; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJ

svtL2r1Qo&feature=youtu.be; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1E9ePVU9dtw (accessed 20/03/2012).

162. Khoi Khonnexion, *Kalahari Waits*, Cape Town, Khoi Khonnexion, 2009 (KH 01).
163. Khoi Khonnexion Profile 2008, www.joburg-archive.co.za/2008/pdfs/khoi_profile.pdf (accessed 19/04/2008).
164. Quotations taken from an interview with Glen Arendse and Garth Erasmus, recorded at the University of the Western Cape on 10 October 2010.
165. *Rock Art – Future Cape*, Cape Town, Dala Flat, 2006 (DFM 001 CD).
166. CD liner notes.
167. Interview with André Manuel, co-founder of Dala Flat Records, recorded in Cape Town on 20 November 2007.
168. Not My Dog, *Dogumentary*, Pretoria, Wolmer Records, 2000 (INT 009).
169. Springbok Nude Girls, *Afterlifesatisfaction*, Johannesburg, Sony Music Entertainment, 1996 (CDEPC 5287).

CHAPTER SIX

The Musicians' Discourse: Cape Town as a Musical Potjiekos

The history of music in Cape Town is undeniably a history of interweaving, interlacing and cross-fertilisation; in other words, a history of creolisation. Yet, after three centuries of slavery, segregation and apartheid, how is that history actually understood by the musicians themselves? After decades of categorising music according to separate identities ascribed by racist powers, how do musicians position themselves within South African society? How do they relate to Cape Town? How do they express musically their relation to the Mother City? It is with these questions in mind that I conducted a survey among musicians active in Cape Town in 2007.

During a research residence at the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies (STIAS), I conducted a series of 24 semi-directive interviews, both individual and collective, in the course of which a total of 42 musicians were interviewed[1]. Obviously, this sample cannot pretend to be statistically representative of the whole population of musicians working in Cape Town. However, it included musicians playing or singing in ensembles that performed most of the genres that could be heard in Cape Town: choral music, *langarm*, Christmas Choirs' hymns, *Klopse* songs, *Sangkore*'s repertoires, *qasidah*s, jazz, rap, electronic music, experimental music, gospel, Afrikaans rock, African pop music, *marimba* tunes, musicals and "art" music compositions. The semi-directive technique employed for this survey aims at achieving what anthropologist Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan calls the "rigour of qualitative investigation" (Olivier de Sardan 2008). Interviews are conducted in a way that allows the interviewee to express herself or himself as freely as possible within a framework that has been pre-defined by the interviewer. The interviewer does not prepare a set questionnaire, but engages in a conversation in the course of which he prompts the interviewee to address one or several themes. I (the interviewer) usually started with a very general question

about the interviewee's musical itinerary, then followed up with questions related to the interviewee's answer, suggesting that, from there, she or he[2] elaborates on how she or he construes her or his relationship to Cape Town, very often on the basis of a particular perception of the city's history.

Similar data were also extracted from the transcripts of two round tables organised at STIAS on 13 November 2007. In the first, a panel of academics[3] discussed questions relating to South African music. In the second, a panel of musicians[4] was asked to answer the question: "What is Cape Town music?" The smallness of the sample and the absence of a set questionnaire administered in the same way in all the interviews make any statistical treatment of the interviews irrelevant. On the other hand, the depth of the discourses collected and the relative freedom granted to the interviewees guarantees that one can draw from the interviews pertinent *descriptors*, that is aggregates of qualitative data allowing the corroboration, refinement, modification or invalidation of interpretative propositions (Olivier de Sardan 2008: 86). The interviews were submitted to a thematic analysis in order to construct data on the basis of which convergences or divergences with the historical analysis could be assessed. The presentation of the analysis has been organised to reconstruct in writing what amounted to a remote conversation between musicians discussing issues of particular interest: the "social power of music", that is what the musicians aim to achieve through playing or teaching music; and the specificity of Cape Town's musics, how they define it, how they contribute to it, how they intend to use it in creative ways.

The Social Power of Music

Ethnomusicologist Gilbert Rouget liked to say that "music is always much more than music"[5]. This implies that audible sounds are inextricably enmeshed in social realities. Music produced in certain circumstances introduces a particular understanding of these circumstances and provides the means to act upon these circumstances, and possibly to transform them. This idea was summed up by Paul Sedres, then the Listening Lab administrator at the UCT College of Music, during one of the Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying workshops, when he said that music provides "tools for social transformation". Most of the musicians interviewed agree with this statement and emphasise that they play, lead ensembles and teach not only for their own pleasure, and not only to enable others to share in their pleasure, but also because they want, because they feel obliged, to participate in shaping or re-shaping South African society.

The Ikey Gamba band in the 1950s, a pillar of *langarm* parties.

Teaching

Glen Arendse, of the Khoi Khonnexion, claims that he "came up from a tradition where art has to have an educational side to it". Knowing and making music opens the way to a certain understanding of one's place in society and of one's capacity for action within that society. This concept underlies the life of the Christmas Choirs: according to Billy Baatjies, who captains one of them, they allow children to learn how to read and play music. This is of course the objective of music schools, like Camillo Lombard's Cape Music Institute (which at the time of the survey was called Xulon Music Tech), where courses focus on jazz and church music, or the Athlone Academy founded by the late Samuel J. Jonker. The Athlone Academy of Music puts the stress on learning to read music and acquiring a good instrumental technique, but Samuel J. Jonker thought of his Academy as "a community organisation that teaches underprivileged children". This is also the aim of George Werner and Anwar Gambeno. George Werner's Little Giants presents children from disadvantaged milieus with the opportunity to learn while playing music. The inclusion of teenagers in the Tulip Malay Choir allows them to familiarise themselves with, and eventually master, repertoires (*moppies*, *nederlandsliedjies*, combined choruses) which are orally transmitted, thereby upholding the tradition and carrying it to the future. Teaching music, especially to underprivileged children, is crucial in today's South Africa, since schools are not doing it properly, or not

doing it at all. During the STIAS round table, Anri Herbst cited the findings of a survey of music education in primary schools of the Cape Peninsula in which she was involved, and which highlighted the inadequacies of the curriculum and the inadequate training of teachers (Herbst, De Wet, Rijsdijk 2005). Ncebakazi Mnukwana concurred and added that the curriculum was much too Eurocentric. Confronted with this situation, Phumi Tsewu, who teaches English and Arts and Culture, organised a choir at Fezeka High School, Gugulethu, "to compensate for the absence of classroom music" and to "respond to a social void, an academic void that was created by the government which ousted music from the curriculum in the schools". The presentation brochure of the Athlone Academy of Music does not mince its words and affirms: "In South Africa, the culture of arts has deteriorated tremendously to the extent that very few schools, particularly in the historically disadvantaged areas, still encourage an annual school concert or the active participation in art and music classes. It is evident that as the need for budget cuts were foreseen, music and art were the first subjects to be cut from the curriculum. This we see, especially in our current turbulent context, as a horrendous loss since we believe that it is imperative that youth are empowered with opportunities to enhance creativity in order to facilitate constructive problem-solving processes and a culture of peaceful conflict resolution. Music education instils in students the life skills of responsibility, discipline, teamwork, self-esteem enhancement as well as the development of creative problem-solving skills. In music education, commitment is a fundamental aspect and this transfers to every other part of life."[6]

Discipline and fighting social ills

As highlighted by the Athlone Academy of Music's brochure, since "music is always much more than music", teaching music is always teaching much more than music. In most cases, it amounts to teaching how to take charge of one's destiny. In that perspective, learning music is learning discipline: instrumental technique, rules of composition and interpretation specific to particular genres, rules of behaving within a group. *Sangkore*, such as Anwar Gambeno's Tulips, and *langarm* bands, such as Ikey Gamba's, are schools of discipline. In the eyes of André Manuel, co-founder of Dala Flat Records, Abdullah Ibrahim "embodies what musicians should strive for: he works hard, he's got a discipline". And Phumi Tsewu explains that music instils discipline into learners not for the sake of discipline, but because "it gives them a sense of responsibility […] so that they get a sense of how to organise their lives".

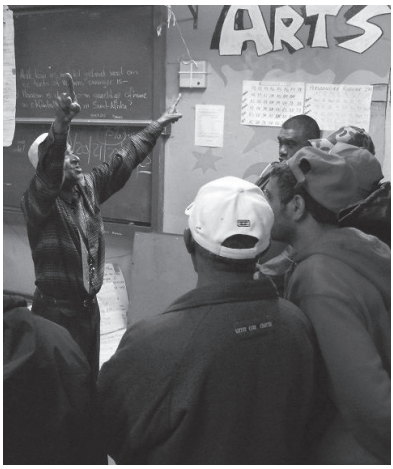
Responsibility and the ability to organise one's life means that children become aware of the dangers they are confronted with everyday, and become able to eschew them. For Samuel J. Jonker, "the music school is one of the main things in a child's life, it keeps away from all evil things like drugs, which is dominating in the Western Cape, and also the gangs". The reason why we opened the *qasidah* bands, says Raji Divajee, co-producer of the programme *Qasidah Classix* on the Voice of the Cape radio station, is to curb juvenile delinquency. Similarly, Phumi Tsewu emphasises that "more than anything, we maintain these groups to keep these kids away from trouble". In addition to that, certain genres provide a powerful platform to address social issues; rap, says rapper Emile Jansen (Emile YX?), promotes drug and AIDS awareness.

Traditions and identity

Responsibility and the awareness of social perils make music a "way of life", insist the members of the Hlanganani *marimba* band; since life is nourished by traditions, it is therefore the musician's duty to maintain traditions: "Somebody has to keep on playing these instruments here from Langa. That's the way we keep our traditions […] Even after us, when we stop playing or pass away or something, there has to be a group following us." Traditions help us to know who we are; but so does rap, says Emile Jansen, since "the hip-hop sudden switch to like the knowledge of yourself, who you are, and where you're from and samples that are from here", that is from musics which are considered emblematic of Cape Town. Students at Camillo Lombard's Xulon Music Tech agree: "Our music is who we are", and their mentor explains that since the school focuses on *ghoema*, Pentecostal music and African music, the conception of culture that underlies teaching is very broad: "We teach different genres of music, but we focus on our own culture which is the *ghoema*, the Pentecostal style and African music, that is what we want to concentrate on so that the youngsters of today they come up with fresh ideas for that culture and for that music and take it one step further." Which is to participate in the elaboration of new Cape Town sounds, continuing with what could be called a "tradition of innovation". Teenage members of the Tulips Malay Choir feel the same way: "If I sing, then I'm myself, and I love the tradition of Cape Town, of singing," confesses one of them. But his coach, Anwar Gambeno, points out that tradition should not be given a conservative interpretation: "Tradition is what we are doing now […] It has been progressing and developing all the time."[7] What is at stake therefore is not only maintaining traditions, but creating

something new from them. This is André Manuel's self-ascribed mission: "I would like my mission in life to be: to create some sort of artistic movement on the Cape Flats, to ensure that the culture is preserved." This is why he co-founded Dala Flat Records: "The main focus of the label is to preserve the heritage and culture of this region, the Cape region, in a contemporary way and mainly through electronics". Because, explains singer Titi Tsira[8]: "Without that traditional music we won't be able to create something. Because it is important to create something on top of something you already know. So we are creating, we are all still creating something new that's gonna be new to some people's ears by mixing the traditional with the other influences that we are listening to to form another type of genre."

Members of the Khoi Khonnexion share a similar conception of the use of traditions. Garth Erasmus explains: "The music that we do, even though it comes from the inspirational source of indigenous investigation and curiosity […] there is a lot of experimentation that happens. There is not a sense of a strict musical tradition but rather the opposite: of trying to break through and to create new traditions out of the old. Because I think that is also one's responsibility in general if you're an artist or a creative person not to be stuck in tradition, but you have the responsibility to carry on in a forward way, and you have to decide what way is forward for you." The work of the Khoi Khonnexion "is about unearthing and highlighting" the history of the coloured community and re-linking it with the Khoisan presence. Garth Erasmus continues: "There is this ingrained sense that there really is a separation [between the Khoisan and today's South Africans] and the point that we are trying to make is that there has not been a separation, there has been an evolution; but because of the politics clouding this, nobody has seen it or appreciated it." Glen Arendse insists: "What we are doing, is that we are re-instituting into the vision and onto the ears of our people such things that were shot down as barbaric, whether it be the mouth bow or any other instrument." The inspirational source is therefore the musical bow. However, just as re-appropriating the bow does not mean playing the bow in the same way that musicians of yesteryear would have done, it leads to experimentation with it, to show that the historical presence it symbolises is still meaningful and opens up a way to the future. Experimental words and sounds that emanate from, revolve around and resonate with the bow provide material "[…] to re-create identities", says Glen Arendse, "I don't think identities or customs are cast in stone in any case. So, if sound making or music making in the Cape was characterised by observation, imitation and emulation, what is possible under freedom, if not creation, unfettered creation?"



The Lentegeur Las Vegas *klops* (left) and the Tulips Malay Choir (right) spend hours in intensive practice, during which members learn not only the tunes they will sing in competition, but also life skills.

Bringing people together

The creation and re-creation of identities is not possible within groups that remain cloistered and self-centered. Music is instrumental in this process because it facilitates the coming together or the reunion of people who have been separately categorised and isolated from each other, as much as was possible with political engineering. The late Alex van Heerden thought he could bridge the gap between Cape (black) music and *boeremusiek*, therefore demonstrating that groups associated with different musical genres had much more in common than was usually assumed. André Manuel actively supported his endeavors: "Alex is a white guy, but he actually immersed himself into communities … that's why I respect him. I think not enough white people are going out and trying to understand what other communities are about. Alex came to Cape Town, he lived on the Cape Flats with Hilton [Schilder], he immersed himself into the music, when I tried to make a sense of the Moravian sound, he went and lived with a Moravian church community, and now he is doing a lot of work on the farms". Although working with aesthetics quite distant from Alex van Heerden's, David Kramer's objectives are the same: he wants to demonstrate that *boeremusiek* was originally influenced by Cape Town (black) music, which implies that it also integrated elements of African music, brought by slaves from Mozambique, East Africa and Madagascar: "We

only have to look at what we call the FAK *bundel*[9], this is a sort of bible of the Afrikaans folk song, and whenever you see 'folk song', you will see that this is a so-called coloured, it comes out of the farms in Cape Town, and those songs have become standard *boeremusiek* songs as well."

Investigating concealed aspects of Cape Town music history may help us understand that the histories of people who have been separated from each other are actually intimately connected. In the immediate present, music actually brings people together. After the Hlanganani *marimba* band met, rehearsed and played in public with the Tulips Malay Choir, "Steve" Mvuzo Ndengezi, Hlanganani's coordinator, was quite enthusiastic: "It is quite great, it is another opportunity, because we meet with other people who are good in another language, in another rhythm, I think it is a kind of experience for us, just clicking with them and my feeling in terms of performing as a combination, a fusion with them, I think I had a great feeling with them". For Laura, of the Libertas Choir, singing together makes one "feel the sort of vibration of the person next to you", and Serena who sings in the same choir considers that "you form a bond with the person next to you". In a mixed ensemble like the Libertas Choir, the bond formed between the various members of the choir is also a commitment to discover and accept other members of the group, whatever their age, gender or origin. Serena acknowledged that: "The group is one, even though there are different cultures in the group. None of the cultures really know each other, or the way that they live, it's only when you are in the choir that you find out how it works. That you can make the same sound, the same music, being from different cultures and backgrounds, different … walks of life. That actually fascinates me." She continues: "With Vuyo and them, they teach us the songs that have no music written for, so we stand in a crowd and they actually teach us their cultural music, and it's such an uplifting experience." And Vuyo, an African member of the choir, illustrates that experience with memories from a concert given in Germany. People in the audience, "they could not believe that this Rainbow Nation choir was singing in Xhosa … You see, it's not the blacks only, it's all standing there, representing all the rainbow. It was great, it was wonderful […]".

Phumi Tsewu tells of similar experiences. Because they sing a very broad repertoire, including *moppies*, Afrikaans songs and European choral compositions, the Fezeka High School young singers discover through music people they do not usually mix with. In addition to that, because they participate in many competitions across the country, they have opportunities to interact with other children, and find themselves in mixed (boys and girls, blacks and whites) groups,

such as when they went to Paarl and sang with a (white) girls choir: "Strange enough," remembers Phumi Tsewu, "you could get a sense of easing off as they were beginning to sing, because all of a sudden they got something in common that brought them together. And actually before we got on stage there were people conversing across … They probably did not experience the height of apartheid like we did, they know it from their history books and from what their papas and mamas have told them … but above that, they have space to actually connect …".

Even in the Afrikaans rock movement, which seems to remain quite aloof from other South African musical streams, music facilitates encounters of a certain type. Bertie Coetzee, Zinkplaat's singer and lyricist, mentions that: "All the bands are playing together in Cape Town. English bands are playing with Afrikaans bands, and you get Afrikaans blues bands playing with English ska bands. So I think everyone is influencing each other, and I think the only difference is the language." Deeper than that, within the Afrikaner community, music also provides a platform from which attempts are made at negotiating a new identity, accommodating the young Afrikaners' wish to distance themselves from the burden of apartheid's legacy without severing all links with their parents. "The difficult thing," admits Bertie Coetzee, "is that the things are changing around at the moment. I come from a traditional *boere* community, and then you don't agree with everything that's happening but still you gotta keep your identity, especially at the moment everything is changing around and we don't have a say anymore, so now it's very difficult to still go against the people that's hanging on to the old nationalism, what do you want to do in the music? […] Because you think different but you are still one of them. Then, one of them, it sounds a bit weird; you are still from there, it's your people, so you can't just cut yourself off and everything … You must take them along with you and your ideas, and that's very difficult in song writing." But that's what a number of Afrikaans rock bands try to achieve.

Upliftment and healing

Discovering close Others, and fashioning new identities, is an *uplifting* experience. The word uplifting came out in many interviews. It ties an awakening – the realisation of who one is, of who the Other is, and of what connects one to the Other – and a sense of pride, which grants confidence and empowers. Musicians who have precise memories of the 1980s, like André Manuel, link community awakening with the struggle and the music that was played not only in the struggle but during the struggle years, especially American musics, including New York

Latin music, funk, disco and rap: "Everything at that time was rebellious, was on an edge and I think it really awakened something in our communities. Apart from … we were oppressed, a lot of our freedoms and liberties were taken away from us, but to fill that void, the communities made sense of … they played with what they could and what they had at their disposal". The memory of the struggle still lingers on and permeates what Camillo Lombard thinks is characteristic of Cape Town music: "It's a happy sound first of all. It's basically a consolation, it's like consoling your spirit for the struggle. A lot of the words are related to the struggle. It is making you feel better about the bad things in life. Listening to the melodies and the words, and even the rhythm just lifts you, it's got to be uplifting."

Indeed, consolation and upliftment are qualities that Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander want to hear in the music played by *qasidah* bands; in the same manner that Glenn Robertson thinks it must feature in contemporary gospel. The legacy of the struggle probably adds another dimension to the notion of upliftment, a sense of pride derived from the rehabilitation of certain forms of language and genres of music, and the appropriation of others. Emile Jansen recalls that: "Prophets of da City used a *Klopse* beat to go with an Afrikaans track, and so a lot of people could identify with that. When they listened to it they would say: 'This is something that I know, something that I grew up with.' And also I think it gave it, the so-called coloured community, a strong sense of pride in that, because before it was always associated with everything that was negative, the gangsterism and stuff like that." With different means, Anwar Gambeno arouses the same feelings among the young singers of the Tulips Malay Choir. For the combined chorus competition of the 2008 Cape Malay Choir Board, he composed a choral arrangement on Giacomo Puccini's "*Nessun dorma*" (one of the most famous arias in *Turandot*) but kept the Italian lyrics. The young singers acknowledge that they were proud to have achieved something particularly difficult and Anwar Gambeno uses the words "self-worth" to more accurately describe their feelings. Following in the footsteps of the Eoan Group, he conceives of the appropriation of European opera as a means to empower people. The sense of pride and self-worth that singers, especially young singers from disadvantaged milieus, acquire when they give an outstanding interpretation of a difficult piece is nurtured by the recognition they gain from it. Phumi Tsewu emphasises that: "When they get into these competitions, they are looked at with respect. So when they go back, they come back with this respectability, and they bring respectability to the school." They bring respectability to Gugulethu.

The healing process definitely lies at the heart of the Khoi Khonnexion's approach to music making, and engages with the consequences of apartheid. Garth Erasmus: "I don't feel that there's anybody in South Africa who can say that they have not been psychologically damaged. Nobody, absolutely nobody. That is my contention and this is the point from which all my work derives […] One of the reasons why I say that healing must take place is that even now, 13 years after 1994, not much in the country has changed, everybody still stays in their old apartheid living quarters, sections, it will take a long time to change, so we still have to deal with that […] Music has done that, it can change my life, so if it can do it for me, my argument is that it can do it for everybody." Glen Arendse specifies the healing cycle through which music contributes to relating self-healing and a sense of belonging: "If you want to know what healing is, it needs to counter the ills that have come with invasion, with genocide, with destruction, if that healing is not to be imposed by the very same perpetrators, and is to happen from the inside out, then I speak about healing, and I speak about self-healing, I speak about the requirement of a public process of healing […] Healing for me, at least in terms of what we are doing, taking public culture instruments, is to allow people to reconnect to their sense of belonging."

The musicians interviewed take music very seriously and agree on the fact that they have an important social role to play. But that does not mean that they underestimate their function as entertainers. As a matter of fact, entertainment appears to be part and parcel of the social power of music. Music must bring happiness to underprivileged youngsters (Anwar Gambeno), it must give pleasure to senior citizens living in old-age homes (Billy Baatjes), it must be a source of elation for listeners (Raji Divajee, Ismail Philander). But, adds Raji Divajee, if "sweet music brings joy into the heart of people", it also "develops the mind"; it provides an "educational entertainment".

The Sounds of Cape Town

Notions of the social functions of music expressed by the musicians interviewed are informed by their experience of music making in Cape Town, in the light of general reflections on what music is, and to which uses it can be put. These notions are therefore rooted in the visions they have of the transformation of post-apartheid society. These visions are ambiguous, if not contradictory. They usually contrast newly acquired freedoms, including the freedom to create in music, with disenchantment derived from inefficient social redress policies, widening

inequalities, and the absence of serious cultural policies. The relationships musicians have with Cape Town are imbued with this contrast.

Diversity and mixtures

When musician are asked if they think there is such a thing as a Cape Town music, or if they could define Cape Town in terms of the musics which are typical of the city, many of them first emphasise the diversity of musics that are produced in Cape Town, a diversity that characterises South African musics in general. Scholars of South African music Anri Herbst, Christine Lucia and David B. Coplan underline the multiplicity of cultures, the variety of voices which entered into all sorts of blending and mixes, in which composer Timon Wapenaar discerns a particular quality of sound: "It's a kind of openness, open sounds, as opposed to I think Europeans', it's like their sounds are a lot more compact. I think there is an openness here that you don't get … The Americans obviously, they have a lot of open sounds, but for me their colours are more like primary colours, whereas out here the colours are a bit more … I don't know how you would say, the colours are a bit softer. Probably a bit muted, but still very broad, the gestures. That's where I would say that we have a South African sound."

Against this broad backdrop, South African musics are transforming due to creative efforts than cannot be dissociated from various kinds of pressure. Renewed access to a globalised music scene has increased the weight of external expectations as to what South African music should sound like, and David B. Coplan underlines the fact that musicians who want to "make it" outside South Africa have to take these expectations into account. At the same time, many musicians strive to produce an original sound that could be South African, without necessarily corresponding to international show business clichés about South African music. Guitarist Reza Khota explains the predicament with which South African musicians are confronted. There are, especially in South African jazz, common stylistic elements: the use of simple chord progressions (I, IV, V), the gospel influence, a particular type of phrasing, "a certain kind of patience", and "a slight sometimes almost out of tuneness". But today, South African music is in the process of being redefined because of external pressures, because the society is changing, because musicians want to come out with something new: "I think there is no South African music, I think we are in a very painful and interesting process of defining that: what it is, and it's a long path, but I think my generation is an important part of that process."

Having said that, Reza Khota, who grew up in Gauteng and arrived in Cape Town in 2005, adds that Cape Town provides a more favourable atmosphere for those who endeavour to redefine South African music: "I find Cape Town is far more open for the patient exploration of original music." As a matter of fact, when asked if there is anything particular to Cape Town in terms of music, numerous musicians begin by mentioning a specific mood: a "feel" (Bertie Coetzee), a "vibe" (Laura of the Libertas Choir) which, according to Vuyo (Libertas Choir), promotes "multiculturalism".

Cape Town's "feel" or "vibe" has undoubtedly to do with diversity. Phumi Tsewu distinguishes three major musical cultures: the *Klopse*, the Malay Choirs and the Xhosa culture; however, "each of these genres have a Cape Town stamp in them", which means that Cape Town Xhosa culture is not identical to Transkei Xhosa culture, and that Cape Town choirs have a particular tonal quality: "When you listen to those choirs, you can actually tell which one comes from the Cape, particularly because of the tonal quality … You listen to the sound, the sopranos … You can actually say that's Cape Town sopranos." And, Phumi Tsewu insists, pieces identified with the three major musical cultures feature in the Fezeka High School Choir repertoire. The "Cape Town" stamp, and the possibility for musicians belonging to one group to sing repertoires considered as belonging to other groups, support Alex van Heerden's point of view: whatever differences may exist or whatever distinctions may have been made, Cape Town's diverse musics are interrelated. That is why he claimed: "My culture is a creole culture and that's when I started becoming aware that this Afrikaans music that I wanted to learn was completely related to the music that I learned from Robbie Jansen, for example, the Cape jazz which is linked to the *ghoema*, that deepened my feeling that I was completely entitled to play Cape music as a Cape citizen." It is not only *boeremusiek* and genres played to the *ghoema* beat that are related, they are also linked to African music, underlines guitarist Wayne Bosch: "Because of being divided between different racial groups, different cultures got formulated within each, but one thing that I have realised, the cultures, there are similarities between them in terms of the music. What we call *boeremusiek*, what we call *ghoema* music, what we call African traditional music, there are similarities in them because we are in one country but we are divided." And, adds Wayne Bosch, Cape Town's music also shares common traits with musics from Brazil or Surinam. David Kramer agrees: "I think that the rhythmic and musical influences are very much from East Africa, and I think that the Mozambican kind of drumming and rhythm is what one finds at the root of *ghoema* music, so for me it's a combination of these

European folk songs, melodies, underpinned with an African rhythmic approach and a kind of Asian … the bending of the notes, and the Arabic kind of Muslim singing styles."

Interrelatedness results from past combinations which make new combinations easier, explains Camillo Lombard: "It's all interlinked, it's a combination of all the cultures, white, Khoisan, Malaysian, slavery, black cultures, it's a combination of all these cultures … I think Western Cape music is a combination of all the different cultures." To him, the pop group Freshly Ground exemplifies the potential of this combination: "Because it's once again a collective sound of different sound cultures coming into one band and making one nice sound, a unified sound which is Cape Town." To describe the outcome of these protracted combination processes, both Emile Jansen and Titi Tsira use the culinary metaphor of *potjiekos*, which suggests that a variety of ingredients are brewed together to produce a new taste, in many enjoyable versions. Alternately, Glen Arendse of the Khoi Khonnexion, refers to a melting pot: "I don't think that I really believe that there is such a thing as Cape Town music, at least, I think that that has not been sufficiently defined in my mind to satisfy me. I think that what Cape Town represents is not a specific identity but a melting pot." One of the reasons why there may be in Cape Town a special "vibe", "feel" or "groove" (George Werner), underpinned by combinations and blending which produced diverse but interrelated musical concoctions, is that Cape Town is a port city. Vincent Kolbe often defended this argument. Timon Wapenaar thinks that through the harbour many influences entered Cape Town, and, adds George Werner, cross-pollinated: "This is probably what makes us different from the guys from Jo'burg, those other elements, this groove element."

In practice, today's Cape Town musicians continue to be active participants in processes of combination and blending. The repertoire of Ikey Gamba's *langarm* band is extremely diversified, and has absorbed *kwela*, *boeremusiek*, Indian music, as well as Brazilian samba. The Libertas Choir and the Fezeka High School Choir interpret all kinds of choral music. The members of Hlanganani claim that any type of music can be played on *marimbas*. Titi Tsira admits that she does a "mixture of everything": "My music is diverse, it gets to traditional and to RnB, soul, blues, Afro-jazz, funk, pop here and there." Even artists working within more specified genres stress that their repertoire tends to include features from other musics. Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander admit that some *qasidah* bands integrate elements of jazz and rock, although they themselves disapprove of it. According to André Manuel, electronic music has fused American electronic music, black American music, Latin music, hip-hop, disco and funk. Cape Town rappers, observes Emile

Jansen, sample jazz, *ghoema*, local music, banjo and *Klopse* music. Even Afrikaans rock does not remain immune to external influences and lends an attentive ear to Bob Dylan, Eric Clapton, punk musicians, American bluesmen and Jimi Hendrix. We need not mention again the Libertas Choir and the Fezeka High School Choir, whose members sing European classics, African traditional songs, Afrikaans folk tunes and *moppies*. Timon Wapenaar trained in European "art" music and – as well as composing his own music, playing Irish music, jazz, rock, *klezmer*, *boeremusiek* – acted as assistant coach for a Malay Choir and has orchestrated Mac McKenzie's *Goema Symphony*. Jazz musicians operate in a musical milieu that has always been integrated, even during the worst years of apartheid, and jazz continues to offer a stage on which anyone, from any origin, can play. Individual musicians may also play other genres of music. Ian Smith, for instance, prides himself on having played "virtually anything that had to do with the trumpet". A few of them are engaged in attempts at creating new sounds from the recombination of various Cape Town, or South African musics. This was indeed the case of Alex van Heerden. Reza Khota works on a fusion of jazz and Indian music; Wayne Bosch, on melding jazz, *ghoema* and church music.

Ghoema beat and *Klopse* groove

When, generally towards the end of the interview, musicians were more precisely asked to define what would be the characteristics of Cape Town's music, some of them remained rather vague and alluded to "something special" (Bertie Coetzee) or a "Cape flavour" (Timon Wapenaar). Titi Tsira suggested that Cape Town musicians prefer live performances to miming on stage or recording: "Cape Town is known for live. Any artist that is from Cape Town, you will always see that when you see that person on stage, performing live. Because Cape Town, we are people who like to express ourselves when you see your audience."

However, most musicians are more specific when trying to define what is particular to Cape Town. Although he begins by stating "I would not know", Billy Baatjies, captain of a Christmas Choir, immediately continues by discussing the role of the banjo and of the rhythms it plays, which gives the timing to bands on the road. Samuel J. Jonker more precisely mentions the *ghoema* beat, which underlies *langarm* and *Klopse* songs. Raji Divajee, Ismail Philander cite the *Klopse* songs, which rely on the *ghoema* beat. Members of the Libertas Choir speak of the *moppies*, which amount to the same thing, and underline that they are unique to Cape Town. George Werner aggregates under the appellation "*Klopse* groove" a

cluster of sounds which encompasses the *ghoema* beat and the particular tone of brass instruments and saxophones. Glenn Robertson, André Manuel and Emile Jansen give the same type of answer: the distinctive Cape Town sound, the Cape musical flavour comes from the *ghoema* beat which, reminds David Kramer (who co-authored with Taliep Petersen the successful musical *Ghoema*), took shape during slavery: "For me the *ghoema* is essentially a music that was created around the drum, the *ghoema* drum being absolutely unique to the Cape because it's made from a wine barrel or a brandy barrel, unlike any other African drum which is carved from trees. This one was an invention of the slaves on the farms or on the boats or wherever they were working, so that rhythm I think is what underpins everything about *ghoema*." Ikey Gamba understands *ghoema* as something that pervades coloured social life: "It's a way of life, it's something that we … to use the term, the coloured people, were born with. Taking it from the slaves, the way I see it, when they started with the music, they had a certain feeling, and as the years went by people just kept on going with the Malay Choirs, the way they sing, and we adapted that [in the *langarm* bands]." Yet, adds Wayne Bosch, since there were African slaves, this implies that there have also been African inputs in *ghoema* rhythms – which may explain why they are so attractive. Members of the Hlanganani Marimba Band admit it: "The rhythms that they [the *Klopse*] play, we could click with them. The *ghoema* rhythm can get into you, can get into you."

Although the Fezeka High School Choir can interpret a great of variety of South African and non-South African pieces, Phumi Tsewu has chosen to sing *moppies* in competitions in which the choir is requested to present "authentic Western Province folklore": "When we had to represent the Province in the national finals, we looked around, we said, there are three major cultures here, the first one would be our culture but there are other Provinces that would come with the Xhosa culture, and whether or not we are going to be able to square up against those guys, because they are in the rural areas, they are still doing it in the original sense, and we are in the urban areas, so ours would probably be a little tinted, so to speak, then what do we have readily available in front of us? It was then the *Kaapse Klopse*." The representativeness of the *ghoema* is enhanced by its association with Khoisan culture. Camillo Lombard finds evidence of their connection in the rituals of Pentecostal churches: "There's a distinct sound in the Western Cape and it's mostly found in Pentecostal churches. Now the slave music, we titled *ghoema* music, and the Khoisan music is the bow music; and there's a kind of music from the Khoisan and the slaves in the Pentecostal church where the beat would be almost like the *ghoema*, it's just a slight variation, but the dance

is Khoisan, the kind of dance they do on that beat is the typical Khoisan stomping of the feet and dancing in a circle." Students at Xulon Music Tech consider that the *ghoema* beat is "the heartbeat of every musician here that has been born here in Cape Town". But they see it as something that is changing and must be used as a starting point: "*Ghoema* won't stay the same, it's like it's ever-evolving … It has evolved over the years, but it's been there all the time. *Ghoema* also has to some extent a sense of freedom … like we were oppressed in apartheid … It's a song of freedom, singing *ghoema*. You will never hear a sad *ghoema* song, *ghoema* is always exciting, it's uplifting, it's elevating, it's always … *Ghoema*, it is just being happy and being free, to express yourself in whatever way you can." Alex van Heerden used exactly the same phrase – "starting point" – to say that the bow, as also pointed out by the members of the Khoi Khonnexion, is not an antique, and must be an inspiration for the creation of musics that are original without ceasing to be genuinely representative of Cape Town.

The "Small Miracle" of *Ghoema*

Obviously, musicians have a clear notion of the history of music in Cape Town. They know it is a history of mixing, blending and cross-fertilisation, and conceive of their own practice as a continuation of these processes. Cape Town, being a port, having been at the heart of a slave society for a century and a half, has been a melting pot in which, in spite of injustice, violence and racism, social diversity was conducive to musical openness and generated a unique ensemble of musics, something that can be likened to a musical *potjiekos*. The musicians' historical knowledge is sometimes given a mythical dimension when, through the musical bow, the origins of the dynamics that fuelled the development of Cape Town musics is attributed to the "Khoisan". The bow, in various forms, is or was found in many regions of the world. In South Africa, it was until recently played by Bantu-speaking people, especially Zulus and Xhosas, as well as by Bushmen. However, it is not known with certainty whether the instrument was adopted by Bantu-speakers from Khoisan speakers, or the reverse. Indigenous narratives, as well as musicological studies, diverge on the question of the origin of the bow, and of related instruments such as the pluriarc (compound musical bow) (Kubik 2010: I; 210–248; Olivier 2005: 180–183). The term Khoisan actually refers to a linguistic category which designates a large family of related languages including languages spoken by the Khoikhoi and languages spoken by Bushmen (San)[10]. Anthropologically speaking, there has never been a unified and homogenous Khoisan community. Southern Africa has historically been

home to a plurality of people speaking related languages, who interacted without thinking of themselves as members of a larger entity; and they also intermingled with Bantu-speaking people to such an extent that intermarriages, linguistic and cultural exchanges resulted in the emergence of a large cluster of distinct but interconnected cultures: "Until recently, not any one of these groups imagined the existence of a unique socio-cultural Bushman ensemble. They occupied wide socio-political spaces, structured by networks of direct or indirect relations every one of them entertained with other populations, Bushmen, Bantu-speaking and/or Khoi, and formed not a mosaic of more or less autonomous communities, but rather genuine 'chains of societies' (Amselle 1990), which evolved over time, depending on economic, political or climatic conditions" (Olivier & Valentin 2005: 26). The same indeed goes for the Khoikhoi.

However, what matters in the musician's discourse is the symbolic weight which the idea of "Khoisan" carries. The historical and anthropological complexities highlighted by historians and anthropologists are not denied, but rather relegated to the background to make room for myths re-inventing the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen and collapsing their history and their linguistic characteristics into a unified category. These myths emphasise the continued presence in southern Africa, and more specifically in the Cape region, of people who are descended from its aboriginal inhabitants; they provide ideas and arguments which can be used in contemporary processes of identity reconfiguration. The bow therefore not only symbolises ancientness, and consequently the legitimacy of being there, but above all contradicts negative stereotypes forged against those who are thought of as the descendants of the first occupants of the land, the coloureds. The bow appears as an instrument of rehabilitation which indicates that those who were classified coloured have a history, a culture, a talent for creation, and an outstanding capacity of resilience. However, the bow symbol and the reference to the "Khoisan" are not used to set, once again, coloureds apart from other South Africans[11]. On the contrary, since the bow is universal, since the Khoisan are construed as the ancestors of humankind as a whole, they re-attach coloureds to all other peoples, re-insert them in a global human world. This is why musicians who use the bow see it as a device for looking forward, as an instrument of creation, more specifically of creation rooted in the total history of the Cape.

The musicians' knowledge of history and, for some of them, their acceptance of myths about the Khoisan, provide the backdrop on which they sketch a first very broad, hazy definition of the specificity of Cape Town music: a definition which emphasises its diversity, its openness and capacity for absorption. This is

what words like "feel", "vibe", "flavour", "groove" convey. When asked to be more specific, a quasi-totality of the musicians interviewed ended up talking about "*ghoema*". The *ghoema* in this context stands for a complex of traits, including the sound of brass instruments, the sound of the saxophone, certain melodic turns found in *Klopse* and *Sangkore* repertoires (especially *moppies* and *nederlandsliedjies*) whose axis is the *ghoema* beat. The *ghoema* beat, affirmed the students of Xulon Music Tech, "the heartbeat of every musician here that has been born here in Cape Town". And although it has been preserved and developed in the *Klopse* and *Sangkore* – two kinds of groupings which embody the singularity of Cape Town's culture but are also seen as the preserve of those who were labelled coloured, at least of the working-class segment of that category – some musicians, among whom David Kramer and Wayne Bosch, underline that the origins of *ghoema* and the *ghoema* beat are mixed and that, because of the history of slavery, the *ghoema* beat must have incorporated elements of African rhythms. As a matter of fact, their contention concurs with hypotheses based on musicological analysis. There are definite musical analogies between the *ghoema* beat and African rhythm patterns, and the word *ghoema* may come from a Bantu root. This constitutes at least a body of corroborating clues that ties *ghoema* and the *ghoema* beat to Cape Town's creole history.

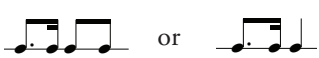
The *ghoema* beat

The *ghoema* beat is mainly played on the *ghoema* drum, although it can also appear as a rhythmic formula played by banjos and guitars, or hit on the ground during street parades by foot stomping and stick tapping. The *ghoema* is a single-headed wooden drum built like a wine cask by assembling staves and maintaining them together with metal hoops. It is usually played under the arm and alternately hit by the right and left hands; Desmond Desai adds that during *ratiep* (*khalifa*) rituals, it can also been placed horizontally on the floor with the drummer sitting astride it (Desai 1983: 33). It is undoubtedly a creole instrument which was made in a wine-making country with materials that were available to the slaves (some of whom served as coopers). It is quite similar to drums invented by slaves in the sugar-cane-growing islands of the West Indies, patterned after barrels used to transport rum, such as the Guadeloupean *gwo-ka*. According to Percival R. Kirby, the first mention of a drum played by slaves in the Cape Colony dates from 1820 and describes "a log of wood, hollowed and covered at one end with an undressed sheepskin" (quoted in Kirby 1939: 479). This type of drum is quite widespread

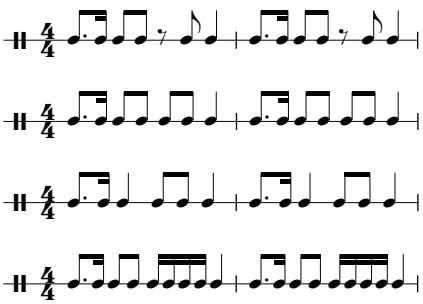
and various types of hollowed wooden drums (closed or not at the lower end) may be encountered in Africa, including among the Khoikhoi, in Madagascar, in India and Pakistan, among the Muslims, and in Sulawesi. It therefore appears that the slaves, coming from cultures where music playing almost always involved drums and deported to a place where the aborigines also made frequent use of drums, designed their own version of a drum from the techniques and materials that were easily available to them.

The etymology of the word *ghoema* is also uncertain. Phonetically, it evokes a root-word widespread in Bantu languages, *goma/ngoma*, which has a large semantic field covering: drum, rhythm, music, song, dance and poetry. The possibility of an Indonesian origin has also been suggested by musicologist Jaap Kunst, who related *ghoema* to *ghom*, a word used in Dutch by the Javanese to speak of the *gong*, a percussion instrument made of a circular metal plaque common in Asia (Desai 1983: 35). However, the material used, the shape and the uses of the gong are distinctly different from those of the *ghoema*. In terms of phonetic proximities, *gom-gom*, a term sometimes used to designate the *gora* musical bow, used by the Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Bantu-speaking people of southern Africa, could also be considered, as well as *g!omah*, the name of a braced musical bow played by the Ju|'hoansi Bushmen. Finally, I.D. du Plessis thought it likely that *ghoema* could simply be an onomatopoeic word reproducing the sound the drum. The most probable hypothesis is that *ghoema* is a creole invention that resulted from the coalescence of various words connoting music, percussion and rhythm, used in the regions from where the slaves came and in South Africa.

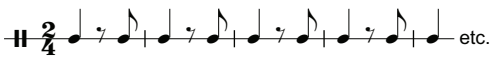
The *ghoema* drum, as heard in *Klopse*, *Sangkore* and *Nagtroepe*, dance music and jazz, plays the *ghoema* beat, which is very closely related to the *vastrap* rhythm used in *boeremusiek* and *langarm*. It had infiltrated the drumming of Cape Town jazz drummers even before it was explicitly used in fusions and Cape jazz[12]. It consists in a simple pattern[13]:



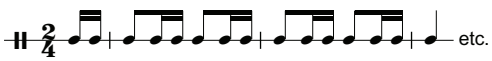
repeated twice in a 4/4 bar, and can be developed in several variations:



Although it looks quite banal, and *sounds similar* to many rhythmic patterns used in Indian popular music and in musics played in several Arabic or Muslim countries, it cannot be clearly *equated* with them. But, according to ethnomusicologist Simha Arom[14], it can undoubtedly be linked to the typical *indlamu* (a secular dance style practised by Zulus) rhythm that provided the rhythmic foundation for African jazz and *mbaqanga* (Ballantine 1993: 60–61):



It could also be related, but with much less certainty, to "the most basic and widespread drum patterns of traditional Nguni music", which propelled *marabi* improvisations (Ballantine 1993: 26–27):



Suggesting relationships between the *ghoema* beat and rhythm patterns used in *marabi*, African jazz and *mbaqanga* does not preclude the fact that it may also have integrated elements from Indian, Muslim or Arabic musics. It suggests that the *ghoema* beat may have "imposed" itself as the basic pattern of Cape Town popular musics because it represented the smallest common denominator which appeared in overlapping areas where the diverse rhythmic sensibilities and practices of the people who coexisted at the Cape came together. The *ghoema* beat amalgamated and fused these rhythmic sensibilities and practices to provide a unifying creole pulse that pervaded most Cape Town musics. It stands out as evidence of Euro-African-slave/coloured cross-fertilisation, as an illustration that creolisation processes fuelled by such cross-fertilisation can also nurture identity configuration and provide material for reconstructing identities based on the recovering of self-esteem and pride, and

yet construed not as "unique root" (*racine unique*) identities but as rhizomatous, complementary and nested identities (Glissant 1997c: 1995–196).

Playing the *ghoema* beat and alluding to the *ghoema* cluster of sounds can be used to reinforce the social power of music. Because it is rooted in the long history of the underprivileged classes of a melting-pot city, *ghoema* and the *ghoema* beat sound like the sweet revenge of those who have too long been oppressed and held in contempt. The *ghoema* beat not only gains legitimacy from being used in all sorts of musical contexts, including jazz and "art" music, but also from being deemed as the founding element of the most representative song genre of the Western Cape by an African choir, which transforms it into a tool for building self-esteem and self-confidence, and therefore for empowering disadvantaged groups as well. Playing the *ghoema* beat and talking about *ghoema* reveal aspects of history that have been concealed for a long time and contribute to reconstructing memories which nurture new or renewed senses of belonging.

The rehabilitation of *ghoema* marks a drastic change in the way belonging can be understood and lived: it is no longer based on ideas of difference and separateness, but, on the contrary, ushers in the notion of nesting and overlapping identities. Many musicians interviewed agree on the idea that music can bring people together; in that perspective, so can *ghoema*. To use the vocabulary suggested by Edward Casey (1987) and endorsed by Paul Ricoeur (2000), the *ghoema* sound *reminds*, recalls the blending, cross-fertilisation and creation that Cape Town accommodated in the past; it participates in *reminiscing*, in infusing a new life in a past that is rediscovered and re-appropriated; and paves the way for *recognising* the "small miracle of happy memory" (Ricœur 2000: 556): reconciliation, not as an oblivion of the past, but as the basis for working towards social harmony. Even if they do not use the same vocabulary, several musicians seem to support this conception. Their avowed intention to use *ghoema* as a basis for creations which can no longer be constrained by any form of restriction and prohibition sounds like a deliberate will to put Cape Town's music in the forefront of efforts aimed at making the ideal of *recognising* a reality.

Notes

1. The interviews were recorded between 3 October and 28 November 2007 in the Cape metropolitan area and in Stellenbosch; an additional interview was recorded on 11 November 2009. Elements of these interviews have been quoted in the previous chapters. A full list of interviewees can be found on page 411.
2. Few women were interviewed: singer Titi Tsira and three female members of the Libertas Choir. Although this may introduce a gender bias, it is quite representative of the population of Cape Town's musicians, in which very few women feature, most of them as singers.
3. Sylvia Bruinders, South African College of Music, University of Cape Town; David B. Coplan, Department of Social Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand; Anri Herbst, South African College of Music, University of Cape Town; Christine Lucia, Department of Music, University of the Witwatersrand; Ncebakazi Mnukwana, South African College of Music, University of Cape Town; Stephanus Muller, Department of Music, University of Stellenbosch; Michael Nixon, South African College of Music, University of Cape Town.
4. Anwar Gambeno, captain of the Tulips Malay Choir; Phumi Tsewu, leader of the Fezeka High School Choir, Gugulethu; Timon Wapenaar, violinist, composer; George Werner, pianist, co-founder of IMAD (Institute for Music and Indigenous Arts Development) and coordinator of the Little Giants.
5. Quoted by Bernard Lortat-Jacob, "*Plus que la musique*", http://lortajablog.free.fr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=35&Itemid=31; accessed 12/05/2011. see: Rouget 1995: 7.
6. *Athlone Academy of Music: Community Development through Music Education*, Athlone, ca. 2007.
7. Anwar Gambeno develops his conception of tradition in Martin 2002b.
8. Titi Tsira was raised in Gugulethu. She began singing at a very early age and has enjoyed a successful career both as a solo act and as a member of various bands. She sings a mix of soul and pop fused with African influences. She is one of the members of the international Playing for Change Band. See: http://www.vibrationbooking.com/tititsira.html#Downloads, accessed 11/05/2011.
9. Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (The Federation of Akrikaans Cultural Associations) published a *sangbundel*: "the compendium for Afrikaans folk song which virtually every Afrikaner child grew up with" (Brink 2006: 74).
10. Controversy surrounds the use of the words Bushmen and San. Bushmen has been considered as a colonial appellation, but San is no more acceptable to the people aggregated under this name since it comes from the Nama (Khoi) language and means "outsider" with a derogatory connotation. Members of the communities labelled Bushmen or San usually do not use these generic terms to refer to themselves, but the names of the group to which they consider they belong, for instance Ju|'hoansi and !Kung. Whenever it is necessary to use a global name, it now appears that Bushmen is the less offensive (Olivier & Valentin 2005).
11. For a similar analysis of ethnic identity as performance, see: Sharp & Boonzaier 1994.
12. During a conference titled "*Traversées: Le jazz à la croisée des champs*" (Crossings: Jazz as a junction of fields) held in May 2009, at the Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, when I showed a transcription of the *ghoema* beat, British saxophonist Evan Parker, who played with Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath, said: "I was not aware that what Louis Moholo played with the Brotherhood came from there."

13. The transcriptions of the *ghoema* beat and its variations reproduced here have been made by Armelle Gaulier (Gaulier 2007: 46–48). These transcriptions, as is the case with all transcriptions of orally transmitted music, should be read as an approximation giving a general figuration of the pattern but unable to convey the specific dynamics it sets in motion when actually played.
14. I wish to thank Dr Simha Arom, Research Director Emeritus at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), for having kindly agreed to examine various South African rhythmic patterns which I gave to him so that he could check if they were related.

Conclusion

Recognising Creolisation?

CONCLUSION

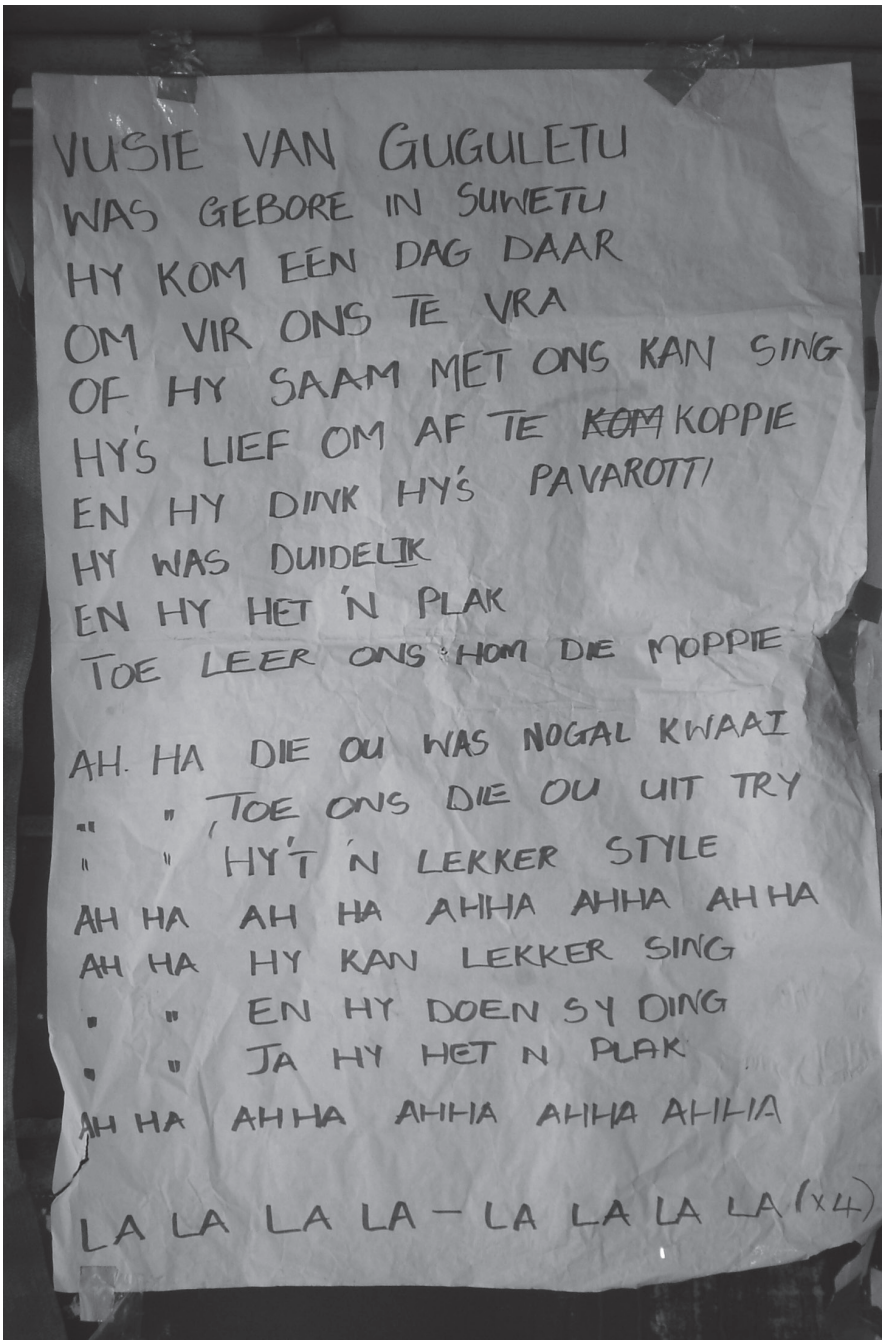
Recognising Creolisation?

It is December 2007, in Netreg Road, on the fringe of Bonteheuwel, one of these townships that was developed by the apartheid government to relocate coloured Capetonians who were expelled from the city centre. The Netreg Superstars, a small community *Klopse* troupe, are practising. They are gathered under a makeshift shed, in front of a small house, and are learning a *moppie* brought by their coach, Terry Hector, which they will sing in competition during the 2008 Kaapse Klopse Karnaval. Terry Hector is a veteran actor and singer, well-known and respected in Cape Town, in particular because he played in the original production of Taliep Petersen and David Kramer's *Dictrict Six: The Musical*. The lyrics are written on sheets of cardboard hanging from the wall; the music comes from a backtrack recording played by a hifi. Sentence after sentence, group of bars after groups of bars, Terry Hector teaches his song to singers, male and female, most of them quite young. This is no ordinary *moppie*. It is funny and constructed in the form of a potpourri, as a *moppie* should be, but beyond the humour and the antics of Terry Hector while he sings the solo part, it speaks to something that touches on the inner feelings of people like those in Bonteheuwel, and addresses some very serious questions. It tells the story of an African man, Vusie (the spelling has been "Afrikaansised" by the addition of a final e), who comes from Soweto, but now lives in Gugulethu, which is about 16 kilometres from Netreg, but on the same railway line. One day, Vusie passes by a *klopskamer* (the rehearsing place of a carnival troupe) and hears a choir sing a *moppie*. He asks them if he may join them. The *Klopse* members decide to "try him out" and find he is "*duidelik*" (cool, super). In fact, Vusie has an operatic voice and sings like Pavarotti; yet he makes every effort to learn the *moppie* and fit into the choir. Eventually, he changes his style of singing, but his presence also transforms the choir's own style of singing. Through their mutual adaptation, they create something original: an "opera *moppie*". The melody is a typical *Klops* melody, but is interspersed with passages that are supposed to sound like opera. The soloist introduces excerpts from "*Funiculì*, *Funiculà*"[1] and there is also a brief quotation

from the "Slave Chorus", taken from Giuseppe Verdi's *Nabucco*. In addition to that, during the gimmick part of the *moppie*, the part when the tempo changes and which allows the soloist to make the most eccentric gestures (Gaulier 2007; 2010), the lyrics describe a strangulation scene that seems totally unrelated to the rest of the story, but may allude to another of Verdi's operas, *Othello*.

"*Vusie van Guguletu*" stages a particular vision of the relationship that could be established between Cape Town's three main population groups: the coloureds, the Africans and the whites. Vusie is an African, but he sings opera, a genre which is generally considered to be symbolical of European/white "high" culture, which is also extremely popular among many coloureds, and some Africans. He asks to join a *Klops* choir and to sing the *moppie*, which is emblematic of coloured working class musical culture and, comments Terry Hector: "We do find it odd [that an African wishes to join a *Klops* choir and sing a *moppie*]"[2]. But he does his best to learn the *moppie* style of singing, and the choir members eventually find him "*duidelik*"[3] and "*kwaai*"[4]. In turn his presence makes them change their own style of singing and adopt elements of opera vocalism. In this story, the African appears as the facilitator of a coming together of the three main "cultures", or "communities" living in Cape Town. He is the bearer and transmitter of white "high" culture. He demonstrates that he is ready to adapt to another "culture" and is not only accepted but praised. A true communication is established between Vusie and the *Klops* members: they sing together, in the words of Terry Hector they "share the song", and together create something new in which are merged elements from what are supposed to be European, African and coloured music.

"*Vusie van Guguletu*" is just a fable. It projects the vision of an ideal South African society, reconciled through music. It runs counter to prevailing prejudices[5] against Africans instilled in coloured communities by racist authorities and exacerbated during the 1994 electoral campaign, prejudices which today are far from erased. Although there have been several instances of inclusion of African music (or at least of elements considered symbolic of African music) in *moppies* during the past ten to fifteen years, this song may not be treated as "representative" of a massive trend. It nevertheless signals the fledgling emergence of new representations of Africans among coloureds, and the vision of a possible new South African living-together (Ricoeur 1990, 1995). A vision that also underlies Desmon Desai's wish to hear "*Roesa*" sung in isiXhosa, for which he asked Mzoli Mzamane to provide a translation of the lyrics (Desai 2004: 7–8).



The words of "Vusie van Guguletu" hang from the wall of the Netreg Superstars' *klopskamer*.

Vusie van Gugulethu

Vusie van Gugulethu
Was gebore in Suwetu
Hy kom een dag daar
Om vir ons te vra
Of hy saam met ons kan sing
Hy's lief om te Pavarotti koppie
En hy dink hy's Pavarotti
Hy was duidelik
En hy het 'n plak
Toe leer ons hom die moppie

Ah ha die ou was nogal kwaai
Ah ha toe ons die ou uit try
Ah ha hy't 'n lekker style
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha
Ah ha hy kan lekker sing
Ah ha en hy doen sy sing
Ah ha ja hy het 'n plak
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha

La la la la — la la la la (x4)

Keer hom keer hom kyk wat maak
Hy daar (2)
Hy choke haar vrek (4)
Lyk die ou is tatie
Want hy choke haar vrek

Vusie het gou geleer
Niks kan vir Vusie keer
Nou kan hy saam sing
En ons doen ons ding
Wat soek 'n man nog meer?

Hy's lief om af te koppie
En hy sing glad nie vroinie
Hy is duidelik en hy het 'n plak

Nou sing ons saam die moppie
Nou sing hy saam met ons
En ons sing opera
Dis die opera moppie van die jaar

Translation (with the assistance of Melvyn Matthews)

Vusie from Gugulethu
Was born in Soweto
One day he came there
To ask us
If he could sing with us
He loves to copy Pavarotti
And he thinks he's Pavarotti
He was cool
And he put himself out
To learn the *moppie* from us

Ah ha the guy was cool enough
Ah ha for us to try him out
Ah ha he's got a nice style
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha
Ah ha he can sing nicely
Ah ha and he's doing his thing
Ah ha yes he is dedicated
Ah ha ah ha ah ha ah ha

La la la la — la la la la (x4)

Stop him stop him, what he is doing
There (2)
He is choking her to death (4)
The guy looks crazy
He wants to choke her to death

Vusie learned quickly
Nothing can stop Vusie
Now he can sing with us
And we're doing our thing
What more does a man want?

He likes to copy
And does not sing like before
He is nice and dedicated

Now we sing the *moppie* together
Now he sings with us
And we sing opera
This is the opera *moppie* of the year

Relation in music

Music appears here as a vehicle that has the power to facilitate a rapprochement between people who have been separated and set against each other. It can be posited in such a role because music in Cape Town is the outcome of intense processes of exchanges, blending and creation from blending which have been described in the preceding chapters. Ingrid Byerly underlines this: "The seemingly 'soundproof' walls that censorship and separate development built between races weren't sufficient to make provision for the fact that apartheid's imposed infrastructures not only allowed for, but made provision for, constant musical osmosis between those walls" (Byerly 2008: 259). In Cape Town, musical creolisation operated in a milieu that continued to bear traces of a particular history, characterised by slavery, racism and violence, but also by a "relative toleration of colour and social admixture" (M.S. Evans[6], quoted in Bickford-Smith 1995a: 65) and "much less sexual and social segregation […] than in other parts of southern Africa in the early twentieth century" (Bickford-Smith 1995a: 65). This, of course, does not underplay the violence to which black people have been submitted throughout Cape Town's history. It simply acknowledges the fact that Cape Town's musics, which were going to bear heavily on the development of music in other parts of South Africa, grew and blossomed in particular conditions. Creolisation processes that got under way in these conditions launched dynamics that underpinned musical creation in the rest of the country.

Throughout the history of the Mother City, the dynamics unleashed by creolisation kept generating original musics, which, before their advent, were "unpredictable". Creolisation is a never-ending process, which still affects musical creation today, but bears the brunt of the original conditions in which a complex and contradictory situation of coexistence and exchanges has begun, against the backdrop of brutality and dehumanisation. Creolisation, as an "unpredictable energy of overcoming" (Glissant 1997c: 16; 37), still nurtures the attitude of 21st century musicians who try to create in many different styles music that suggests the possibility of a new society, in which the past will not be forgotten, but in which its traumas will be overcome by *reminding* us of what has always tied South Africans together, especially music. Emphasising that South African musics, to whatever group they have been ascribed, by whichever group they have been claimed, are, all of them, the outcome of exchanges, combinations, appropriations, re-appropriations and creation made possible by these interchanges, sheds a different light on South Africa's history: it shows that it has been underpinned by Relation, in spite of separation and oppression. Relation, as understood by

Édouard Glissant, links and tells of linkages; it designates a system of dynamic interconnectedness whereby whatever is produced by one party to the network of connections circulates, and can be appropriated, reworked, transformed and put back into circulation by another party. Relation, moreover, knows no borders; it can operate within a society as delineated at a given time, but also includes that society in the networks of the Whole-World, allowing members of that society to borrow from other societies, and even to fantasise about other societies in order to imagine ideas or goods that will be relevant and useful where they live, in the struggles they have to fight there. In South Africa, we have seen to what extent particular representations of the United States served as a resource for both borrowing "real products", that is musics that were really invented and played in North America, and conceiving phantasmal ideas about the place and the roles black people experienced there.

Music is a human production perfectly suited for Relation. It is one of the most easily exchangeable practices, and it ignores the barriers and censorships of language. The first encounter of Vasco da Gama with the Khoikhoi, as well as William John Burchell's journal, show that musical exchanges took place as soon as Europeans set foot on the shores of southern Africa, not to mention the exchanges that had taken place for immemorial times between Khoikhoi and Bushmen communities, and then between people speaking Khoisan languages and people speaking Bantu languages. Because music plays a privileged role in Relation, it can also contribute to shaping particular identity configurations. Music creates a field where identitarian affirmations, based on the invention of tradition and the transformative re-appropriation of roots, are necessarily combined with a sense of universalism. Identities projected and expressed through music cannot, in spite of discourses sometimes claiming the contrary, be heard as exclusive. They always carry, in their intrinsic sonic material, traces of exchanges with other groups. This is why the efforts made by South African racist powers to manipulate music in order to characterise "racial" and "ethnic" identities always failed. Racialist musical engineering could not annihilate the creole foundations laid during the first centuries of colonisation, all it did was to label certain genres or styles of music in the name of the groups that had been "registered". This labelling was principally based on the language of the lyrics, but it could not alter the mixed nature of most musics it attempted to categorise. However, one of the consequences of segregation and apartheid was to create the conditions for the development of endogenous dynamics of creation within each of the demarcated groups. But these endogenous dynamics developed from a creole common heritage and were

fuelled by a universalistic ambition: to proclaim through creation the humanity of oppressed people so that they could recover their self-esteem and pride, while offering the oppressors an opportunity to recover their own humanity, shattered by the inhumanity of the rule they imposed on the people they dominated: by accepting the oppressed as full-fledged human beings (Maximin 2006)[7]. Creation within each of the separated groups was therefore a legitimate source of pride for members of these groups, the more so since creation implied a re-signification of the identity assigned by the powers that were, which drastically overturned its content. In addition to that, every creation overflowed the borders imposed on the group and entered into networks of circulation where it fertilised and was fertilised by other creations emanating from other groups. The whole history of South African music illustrates these quite intricate processes and, once uncovered, helps one understand the intention that underpins 21st century new musical mixes, and the symbols which run through them: *marabi*, or the inclusion of a three-chord progression within staggered cycles and responsorial structures, as the emblem of South Africa's musical blending; musics from the United States, Brazil and the Caribbean as evidence of counter-modernities with which South Africans can identify; the musical bow as a memorial to the antiquity of human presence in South Africa, perpetuated by people speaking Khoisan languages; *mbira*, *djembe* and other African instruments as images of the whole Africa, in which South Africa is included; and, finally, the *ghoema* beat, Cape Town's sonic blazon, which encapsulates relics from African and Asian cultures, and amalgamates them with remnants of European choral traditions. Contemporary musical mixes and creation, and their symbolism, attest that new identity configurations are possible. Music points at identities that can be conceived as nesting, connected and complementary, and at the same time specific and part of larger ensembles: at identities no longer thought as stemming from a "unique root", but from rhizomatous intricateness (Glissant 1997c: 1995–196).

Social contradictions

Music can be considered as a "social revealer" (Balandier 1971: 84–98), containing evidence of a past of exchanges, interconnectedness and common creation that can be revealed by analysing both its intrinsic characteristics and its history. However, music should not be romanticised and imagined as a sort of crystal ball on the surface of which the "true" nature of a society will appear so forcefully that it will convert all who refuse to accept that "their" culture is the result of infinite

processes of mixing and blending. Music can never be separated from the realities in which it is produced, be they social, economic or political. And one has to admit that, more than 20 years after the ANC was unbanned, in spite of the immense progresses that have been accomplished, South Africa remains a highly divided society where inequalities are growing, and where racialist discourse still permeates political debates.

Although poverty levels have diminished, inequality has actually increased in South Africa since 1994, propelled by a significant growth in within-group inequality, especially among Africans. Unemployment has also risen, from 18 to 31 per cent, or from 31 per cent to 42 per cent, according to the factors taken into account (Bhorat & Kanbur 2006: 5–6). Cape Town remains both a monocentric and a polarised city "[…] with the wealth from its strong and relatively varied economy concentrated in the affluent northern and southern suburbs, in strong contrast to the poverty and marginality of the sprawling impoverished township periphery situated on the sandy expanses of the Cape Flats" (de Swardt et al. 2005: 101). The city suffers from a mismatch between the supply and demands of skills, which in part accounts for the high levels of unemployment and the great number of inhabitants whose income is derived from the informal sector[8]. The majority of the Mother City's population still live in homogenous neighbourhoods, far from the town centre, and only the relatively well-off and the more affluent can afford to dwell in integrated areas. In South Africa as a whole, as well as in Cape Town, although a few members of previously disadvantaged groups have benefited from the social and economic reorganisation undertaken under the new political dispensation, the majority of those who were poor remain poor, and the majority of those who were previously rich remain rich, which means that "race" and class are still largely coterminous (Cornelissen & Horstmeier 2002: 76), and consequently that: "[…] race as an aspect of identity is foregrounded in many respects as the key marker of inequality – political, economic and social" (Habib & Bentley 2008: 9).

However, the persistence of poverty, unemployment and inequalities should not conceal changes that occurred since 1994, not only in social positions that can be interpreted with statistical indicators, but also in social representations and in interactions. A generation has come of age who has not known apartheid[9] and has only lived in a society where opportunities are not evenly distributed, but where the law at least guarantees that all citizens are equal and that none can be discriminated against because of the colour of their skin, of their system of belief, or non-belief, of their gender and sexual orientation, or of their political opinion, as long as it does not violate the moral principles inscribed in the Bill of Rights. Yet, even this new

generation has inherited "embedded knowledge" (Jansen 2009: 171–179) which perpetuates, in a plastic form, representations of oneself and others fashioned in the times of apartheid. This is why they constitute "[…] a generation whose past, present and future are neither completely defined by apartheid, nor completely free of it" (Dolby 2001: 7). On the one hand, political commentator Thabisi Hoeane assumes that: "The most serious problem facing post-apartheid South Africa is the persistent failure to forge cross-cutting relationships between races" (quoted in Besteman 2008: 13). On the other, in Cape Town, anthropologist Catherine Besteman finds that: "Since the end of apartheid, the terms on which people are mixing and the urban arena where people come together have changed in fundamental ways. The cultural and personal spaces of intimacy that people in Cape Town create when forging new groups and relationships are, in fact, really new […] Contemporary Cape Town allows for race to be deconstructed, reconstructed, and imagined in novel ways. Experimental identities allow creative Capetonians to redefine themselves and to transcend race" (Besteman 2008: 14). These two statements are not as contradictory as they may seem. Thabisi Hoeane speaks of South Africa in general terms, and his comment is particularly relevant for the poorer classes of the population, although they also apply, to a certain extent, to more well-off people. Catherine Besteman focuses on Cape Town, and on particular categories of the population. What she writes aptly describes what happens among an "elite", both intellectual and economic. In the course of her field work she recorded resistance to change, due to the fact that persistent spatial segregation (Cornelissen & Horstmeier 2002: 77) combined with "embedded knowledge" impedes contacts and consequently limits opportunities to interact concretely with "others" (a phenomenon that has been consistently evidenced by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's Reconciliation Barometer Surveys[10]). She also encountered, in all strata of Cape Town's population, people she calls "transformers", who have decided "[…] to embark on transformative agendas that demand lifestyle changes, ideological investment, and the creation of new social worlds" (Besteman 2008: 192). For them, the struggle against poverty and inequality has replaced the struggle against apartheid. Analyses of the Western Cape electoral results have shown that fluctuations between the ANC, the Democratic Alliance (DA) and abstention signal that the relationship between the perception of one's identity and one's vote is beginning to change[11]. In this extremely fluid situation attempts at identity reconfiguration are caught between the temptation to emphasise group exclusiveness based on specific interpretations of history and cultural practices, and aspirations to increased interconnectedness and interaction, rekindling past exchanges and common endeavours.

Resilience of racialist thinking

This fluidity exacerbates tensions which frequently surface in political debates. An important number of racist incidents have been reported in the press during the past few years[12]. They have been amplified by political polemics and the trading of insults between leaders of the ANC and the DA, and even between cadres of the ANC. Julius Malema, President of the ANC Youth League from 2008 to 2012, is particularly prone to attacking political opponents, and even some of those who are supposed to be his comrades, on the basis of their somatic features. In 2011, the increasing use of the "race card" in South African politics even prompted Trevor Manuel, head of the National Planning Commission and former Minister of Finance, to answer declarations by Jimmy Manyi, a Director-General in the Department of Labour and President of the Black Management Forum, by stating bluntly: "I have a sense that your racism has infiltrated the highest echelons of government."[13] In the Western Cape, these tensions translated not only into fierce hostility between the ANC and the DA, but in a division between factions within the ANC, one group insisting on promoting African interests in the province, while the other wanted it to be "a home for all" (Darracq 2010: chap. 7; Hendricks 2005). Cape Town has been accused of being a "racist" city in which whites continue to enjoy privileges inherited from the apartheid era, and where policies (especially when the DA is in command) favour coloureds to the detriment of Africans[14].

If there has been, at the beginning of the 2000s, a "re-racialisation of the public sphere" (Ballantine 2004: 122), it is because "race", and "racialist thinking" have never been eradicated. The consequence of more than 350 years of racism, segregation and apartheid is that race has been solidly ingrained in prevailing social representations, at all points of South African history, in every milieu. Sociologist Gerhard Maré explains that "racialist thinking" has infiltrated the new South Africa, and that "race" can still be used as a category to describe and analyse post-apartheid South Africa because it has not been systematically undermined in the struggle (Maré 2003). Even the celebrated "I am an African" speech, delivered by Thabo Mbeki before the Constitutional Assembly in 1996 (Mbeki 1998: 31–32), presented a vision of South Africa as a composite society made up of groups differing enough from each other to be cited separately. Thabo Mbeki "forgot" to mention those who were labelled coloured because they were born of the successive mixing and blending that took place at the southernmost tip of Africa. Moreover, he neglected to take into account the consequences of interactions that, for several centuries,

intertwined the people who met in this particular space and together invented a new culture (Cronin 2005: 52–54; Martin 2006b).

Within this context, it is no surprise that redress policies implemented since 1994 have been devised on the basis of "race" and that, even if they have initiated a more demographically representative sharing of the national wealth, they "[…] have also reified racial identities and as a result inhibited the emergence of conditions of the realisation of a cosmopolitan citizenship" (Habib & Bentley 2008: 24). The euphemisation of race in the rhetoric of "differences" does not help much in that respect. "Culture", "language", "group identity" sometimes replace "race" in discourses that aim at breaking with the past, as well as in education curricula. But these words, and the discourses in which they proliferate, still put the stress on what supposedly differentiates South Africans. While artificially homogenising each of the groups defined by "differences", they do not in any way put in the foreground what binds them (Jansen 2009; Sharp & Vally 2009). Educationalist Jonathan Jansen wonders: "How do you teach about difference in a country that has never had a national conversation about sameness?" (Jansen 2009: 107).

This conversation is called for from many circles. Fanie du Toit, executive director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation writes: "[W]e need to find more creative and effective ways to overcome the exaggerated impact of race on identity formation."[15] Neville Alexander concurs: "Besides tackling the structural economic and social inequalities that we took over without much modification from the apartheid state, we have to do the hard work of exploring, researching and piloting alternative approaches to those based on the apartheid racial categories to counter the perpetuation of white and other social privilege."[16] Cheryl Hendricks and Jan Hofmeyr have proposed some concrete solutions to that end: "The government should target new urban housing projects at neutral spaces, leading to the emergence of communities that are integrated in race and class terms, with equitable facilities that can grow organically. Here multiracial communities could grow together, endowed with symbolism, landmarks and monuments that do not speak of domination or cultural threat."[17] The challenge to be met is to identify symbols, monuments, or "*lieux de mémoire*", loci of memory as theorised by French historian Pierre Nora, which include material as well as non-material goods around which memories are constructed and can be reconstructed (Nora 1999–2010), then to adopt strategies likely to spread their meaning in terms of "sameness" and convince citizens of their relevance in contemporary South Africa. From this perspective, South African music can undoubtedly be considered as

a "*lieu de mémoire*", a red thread running across the history of South Africa, illustrating the workings of creolisation, and demonstrating what South Africans have in common, in spite of centuries of racism and segregation, emphasising what they have been able to create together.

Deficiencies in educational policies

The *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy*, released in 2001 by the Working Group on Values and Education, chaired by sociologist Wilmot James, issued recommendations that seemed to go in the direction suggested above. It gave a particular place to performing and visual arts, because they were seen as "[…] powerful instruments of promoting tolerance through exposure to, and a sharing of, diverse cultural traditions and experience" and highlighted that creativity would be stimulated by practice (Department of Education 2001: 27–28). The *Manifesto* also insisted that history should be taught in a way that would help "[…] learners to develop a strong sense of themselves in the world through a study of their 'own' history in the context of the broader history of South Africa; developing a sense of our diverse histories, which will contribute to a common memory and ensure we do not forget the lessons of our painful past" (ibid.: 30). Commenting on the *Manifesto*, Kader Asmal, who was then Minister for Education, and Wilmot James suggested that: "The value of tolerance would be best promoted by deepening an understanding of the origins, evolution, and achievements of humanity, on the one hand, and through the exploration and celebration of that which is unique in South Africans' cultural heritage on the other" (Asmal & James 2001: 200). The *Manifesto* did not refer to creolisation, which was already discussed in academic circles at the time when the Working Group was meeting, and did not really manage to build solid links between the various ideas it tried to work around or with. On the one hand, it spoke of "diversity", "sense of oneself" and of one's "own history", and on the other, it emphasised a "common memory" providing the basis for the "celebration of what is unique in South Africans' cultural heritage" without really showing *how* they could be brought together to promote the notions of a shared history and a shared culture among all South Africans. The *Manifesto* was nevertheless a landmark in the reflection on "sameness", commonalities, and the place they should be given in education, especially in the teaching of performing arts. Yet, it does not seem to have been practically translated into education policies.

At a general level, Jonathan Jansen exposes the flaws of the Ubuntu Module that students wanting to get a teaching degree from the University of Pretoria

had to take: it "exaggerates difference to the point of absurdity" (Jansen 2009: 176) and "reinforces the notion that there are races and that race is real, given, and fixed, and therefore that racial differences should be the starting point for student understanding" (Jansen 2009: 192). Granted, the University of Pretoria has a particular history; it has been for a long time a sanctum of Afrikaner conservatism, and its transformation is difficult and slow (Sharp & Vally 2009). Yet, if the University of Pretoria cannot be taken as representative of all South African universities, the content of the Ubuntu Module demonstrates that racialist thinking, coated in a discourse of differences that seems to fall in line with the ideal of the "Rainbow Nation", is still rampant in South African higher education.

At the other end of the education spectrum, the situation does not look much better, especially when one focuses on music and the arts. Since 1997 the government has set up a system of outcomes-based education; within this framework, the Revised National Curriculum 2002 includes music education in the Arts and Culture learning area. This policy was supposed to give learners a better knowledge of the arts, including music, and to promote their practice. Yet, in 2005, University of Cape Town researchers Anri Herbst (music), Jacques de Wet (sociology) and Susan Rijsdijk (music education) could not but notice that in fact very little had changed. Teachers are untrained or insufficiently trained in music. Few of them possess any instrumental skills. Many of them have biases against what is not European "art" music and are reluctant to teach South African or African music; in the best of cases, they make their pupils sing religious songs. In these conditions learners tend to lose interest in music, at least in the kind of music they are taught at school. They conclude: "Even though there has been an attempt by the curriculum designers of the Revised National Curriculum to recognise the performance-based ubuntu philosophy embedded in the Arts and Culture learning area, the commitment to integrated learning and indigenous knowledge systems is in practice undermined by the lack of capacity-building opportunities and facilities for teachers" (Herbst et al. 2005: 275). At the secondary level, Phumi Tsewu, who teaches English and Arts and Culture at Fezeka High School in Gugulethu, deeply regrets the absence of classroom music, which led him to organise a choir in his school. With some of his colleagues, he felt that he had "to respond to a social void, an academic void that was created by the government which ousted music from the curriculum in the schools". His and other school choirs offer basic training for learners who would consider pursuing a career in music and prepares them for auditions at music departments at UCT and other universities[18].

Outside formal teaching institutions, a number of initiatives try to compensate for the absence of serious introduction to music history and music practice in schools. The Athlone Academy of Music offer courses in instruments, across musical genres[19]. Others, such as the Cape Music Institute, combine instrumental practice with courses in music technology and music business in order to prepare learners who want to become professional musicians or be involved in music production[20]. Finally, scores of *Sangkore*, Christmas Choirs and *Klopse* deliver informal training to which is associated a sense of history and of group culture.

Negligent cultural policies

Cultural policies devised by post-1994 governments have not counterbalanced the deficiencies of the educational system. In 1993, Barbara Masekela, who served on the National Executive Committee of the ANC, already claimed that: "while the ANC had used culture successfully 'as a kind of showpiece or slogan', it ultimately did not recognise the value of culture as an internally-focused medium for strengthening community and building national self-esteem" (quoted in Gilbert 2008: 177). Although her remark may have been inspired at the time by a rather exclusive Afrocentric point of view[21], she did put her finger on a problem that was not going to be solved when the ANC came to power, a shortsightedness which resulted in the transformation of the Ministry of Arts and Culture into a "department of marquee events" (Coplan 2008: 403). At the start, the ANC, in its 1994 *Draft National Cultural Policy*, declared: "The state will ensure that the rich traditions and diversity of our country's music is promoted, in order to promote music as a national resource through, *inter alia*, lending support to the establishment of a music conservatory." It specified: "The reconstructed music education system should take into account the diverse aesthetic backgrounds and training systems of all South African music traditions. It should teach music as culture and promote the understanding and learning of different musics within their cultural, social and historical contexts." The document emphasised the two objectives which must be placed at the centre of a cultural policy: the development of a unifying national culture, and the preservation, revitalisation and promotion of South Africa's cultural heritage (African National Congress 1994).

The *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, released by the Department of Arts and Culture in 1996 did not even dedicate a section to music or dance. It, again, put the stress on heritage and diversity, and introduced the idea that cultural

institutions should be organised along business lines. It also acknowledged that: "The collision of cultures does not necessarily lead to subjugation and hegemony. It may also lead to subtle cross-pollination of ideas, words, customs, art forms, culinary and religious practices. This dynamic interaction has always played a role in cultural enrichment, which has resulted in an extraordinarily fertile and unique South African culture which binds our nation in linguistic, cultural, culinary, and religious diversity in so many forms" (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996: 8). The White Paper recommended that cultural policies be guided by operational principles, among which was: "Mutual respect and tolerance and inter-cultural exchange between the various cultures and forms of art to facilitate the emergence of a shared cultural identity constituted by diversity." In the same period economic policies were reoriented. The adoption of the GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) strategy marked a turning point and reframed South African policies according to neo-liberal rules. This of course also impacted upon cultural policies: "[…] the Department began to utilise the global language of world city discourse and a series of policy goals, White Papers, and projects began to push the agenda of arts and culture as economic drivers within a global context" (Preston 2007: 41). A Cultural Strategy Group met to define the new orientations that cultural policies were to follow. Its 1998 report, titled *Creative South Africa*, stated very clearly that they should support the development of cultural industries able to acquire solid positions in the global system, as well as to create an attractive image of South Africa for foreign tourists. It mentioned diversity as a "fundamental strength and uniqueness" (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 43) and dealt with music in so far as the "immensely talented pool of musicians" and the "diverse range of music products" could stimulate the expansion of music industries (ibid.: 17). From such a technocratic and money-minded perspective, creation is reduced to a commodity that can be marketed by cultural industries.

Policy papers that followed in the wake of *Creative South Africa* aimed at implementing its recommendations. The *Strategic Plan 2007–2010* gave priority to heritage promotion[22], and music appeared as a sector in which job and business opportunities could develop, and which could produce exportable commodities (Department of Arts and Culture 2007). Apart from recognising the importance of "musical icons" Abdullah Ibrahim, the Ngcukana brothers and Victor Ntoni (Department of Arts and Culture 2008: 9) and announcing a "national choral strategy", the *Strategic Plan 2008–2011* did not introduce major changes. Heritage promotion and services dealing with the past continued to be given the lion's share; support granted to arts and culture festivals was justified by the promotion of

tourism and the music industry; and national days were presented as opportunities for musicians to display their talents, network and hopefully find jobs (ibid.: 33). It is only in the *Strategic Plan 2011–2016* that music is specifically dealt with. In his introduction, the Deputy Minister for Arts and Culture, Joe Phaahla, announces his Department's intention to empower artists and arts practitioners (Department of Arts and Culture 2011: 10). And Programme 4, "Cultural Development", mentions an "Approved and implemented national strategy for the music sector developed by March 2013" (ibid.: 38). It remains to be seen what this strategy will produce, and if it will break with the trend of reducing music to a marketable commodity. At the time of writing, the current national budget still grants culture a pittance: Recreation and Culture is allocated 0,7 per cent of the total consolidated Government Revenue and Expenditure for 2010/2011 (down from 1,5 per cent in 2007/2008) and the projection for 2011–2014 is even leaner: between 0,6 and 0,7 per cent (National Treasury 2011). Given the weak political influence of the Ministry of Arts and Culture, and the miniscule resources at its disposal, speeches and declarations highlighting the role of culture in consolidating "social cohesion" seem to be completely vacuous. The insistence on diversity as a means "to facilitate the emergence of a shared cultural identity" (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996), once again puts difference in the foreground, and eschews a reflection in terms of sameness. Preserving what is put under "heritage", material or immaterial, strengthening services dedicated to conserving traces of the past are indeed indispensable, but one wonders if it has to be done at the expense of the promotion of contemporary creation, especially if creation is viewed as an avenue leading to the realisation and acceptance that there exists in South Africa a common, and still blossoming, cultural capital that can cement feelings of togetherness, beyond differences. Finally, even if artists and musicians do need to find decent employment, even if cultural industries may support their creative endeavours, cultural policies cannot be reduced to boosting private businesses and "selling" South Africa to tourists. Commercial interests are not easily compatible with freedom of creation, and imagining cultural products to match the expectations of foreigners in search of exotic sensations does not exactly foster "social cohesion" and "the emergence of a shared cultural identity".

At the provincial level, things look a little better. In his 2007 budget, Whitey Jacobs, Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Cultural Affairs and Sports, paid tribute to Robbie Jansen and Winston Mankunku, pledged subsidies for music festivals such as the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees/Klein Karoo National Arts Festival and the Cape Town International Jazz Festival, announced

the organisation of workshops focusing on the development of music throughout the province and the launch of a Provincial Musicians' Forum (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2007)[23]. The budgets and plans that followed emphasised talent-identification programmes and skills training (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2009, 2011a). However, the share of culture in the provincial budget is comparable to what it is in the national budget: in the audited outcome of financial year 2009/2010, Cultural Affairs and Sports (which are usually more favourably endowed than culture) accounts for 1 per cent of the expenditure (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2011–2014: 53), and its funding sinks below the 1 per cent mark in the 2011 budget, in which it represents only 0,84 per cent of the total (Provincial Government of the Western Cape 2009, 2011b). The future will tell if this dwindling trend, and the absence of major projects regarding culture and music, are due to the transfer of power from the ANC to the DA in the Western Cape, or reflect a shared disinterest for culture.

In 2008, when the ANC had been at the Western Cape's helm for some years, the Isandla Institute[24] issued a discussion document that lashed out at national and provincial cultural policies. It argued: "[…] that the local cultural context is poorly researched and understood and that *engagements with cultural diversity are usually tokenistic and narrowly nationalistic at the level of signs rather than textures.* (emphasis added) Moreover, *culture has been reduced to arts and heritage* (emphasis added) and, across the spheres of government, is located in departments with the weakest capacity and the lowest profile" (Minty 2008: i; emphasis in the original). The document criticised the narrow conception that considers the development of cultural industries as the main driver of cultural development: "[T]here is a danger in favouring an overly industrial and economic approach to culture in South Africa over an appreciation of the intrinsic value of culture. The focus on economic return downplays both the crucial role that cultural activity plays in weaving the fabric of our symbolic life, as well as its impact on the spatial development of our cities, and views the importance of culture for the wellbeing of a society and city in excessively economic terms. The result is a cultural policy that is more preoccupied with economic returns than with social values such as tolerance, civic pride and diversity – one which sees cultural resources in terms of their capacity for commercial exploitation and not in terms of their intrinsic value" (Minty 2008: 23). It recommended a complete change of perspective and suggested that: "Understanding the city in terms of its unique movements and mixing of people, as a 'creolised city' (see for example Cronin 2005), will enable us to better engage with its realities as a unique African city" (Minty 2008: 11).

According to the document, cultural policies should foster "opportunities for all citizens to interact with each other more and to engage in intercultural activities" and "practices that cross boundaries and borders" (Minty 2008: 34).

Music and adaptive identities

Music is indeed one of these practices. The history of South African musics bears witness to the intense mixing and blending that has underpinned the shaping of its unique culture. And today, in the particularly fluid and complex situation in which young South Africans have to find their bearings and define themselves, music plays a decisive role in identity reconfiguration. Musical tastes and musical practices are included in strategies of self-classification that are adapted to contexts and aspirations, while taking into account – playing with, fighting against – classification by others (Bourdieu 1979). Music opens up fields for identification that offer an almost unlimited choice of material that signify relationship – real, intended, phantasmal – with Others. Daniel A. Yon has minutely explored how Canadian students make use of music's potential for configuring, adjusting and transforming identities: "Many of the signs and symbols of the popular cultures of these youths, like dress codes and musical tastes, are racialised. This means that the signifiers of race can also change with the changing signs of culture and identity, and what it means to be a certain race is different from one context to another" (Yon 2000: 71). What Daniel A. Yon brought to light in Toronto corresponds to what also happens in Cape Town and South Africa. In Durban, Nadine E. Dolby found that students combine resources drawn from the "global world" with what is at hand locally to renegotiate their "racial" categorisation and rearrange "racial" borders. These operations take place mainly in the domain of popular culture, in which music occupies a central position. Interacting with each other and crossing boundaries frequently are usually made possible thanks to the mediation of music: "Students who express the desire to connect with individuals from other racial groups often see music, particularly clubs, as the place where the crossover would occur" (Dolby 2001: 85). The findings of Crain Soudien's investigation of Cape Town's schools are strikingly similar. Students perceive themselves as part of a wider world and their tastes are international. Music allows them to position themselves in South Africa and, inseparably, in the world. They live in a universe that is no longer their parents'. They have not experienced apartheid, which does not mean that they have never been confronted with racism; very often they still live in conditions of spatial segregation. But they at least know that "racial"

categorisation can be fought in law and in practice, that they can be subverted and re-signified. Tastes in new musics are a way of eluding racial labelling and contribute to imagining new, adaptable identities. This does not happen without difficulties and vacillations, but on the whole, underlines Crain Soudien: "[…] popular culture is a terrain for considerable tension. As a result of this tension, young people are innovating new ways of being South African. Race does not go away, but it is rearticulated (together with language, class, gender and other less visible factors). Out of this emerge hybrid identities" (Soudien 2009: 29).

Paradoxical transformation

Young South Africans use music as a resource in the management of their identity, a resource that allows them to find in the "global" material that can help define their position and devise their projects in the "local", a resource that is renewable and allows their identity configurations to change according to their wishes and aspirations. This pleads for a reconsideration of the place of music in educational and cultural policies, and more generally for a greater emphasis on culture in public policies, especially if culture is considered as a means of strengthening social cohesion and fostering feelings of belonging together among South Africans. Such a reconsideration of the place of music appears crucial in a society that is still fraught with tensions and misunderstandings, ignorance of who the Other is and insufficient interactions between people who were previously classified in different categories. Since 2003, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation has conducted surveys on "reconciliation". Its *South African Reconciliation Barometer* has recorded fluctuations in mutual perceptions between the constituent groups of the South African population. Its results show that some progress has been made. Over a seven year period (2003–2010), a majority of South Africans said they believed that "a unified country is a desirable goal" (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 8) and in 2010, while 72 per cent agree that "it is desirable to create a united South African nation", 64 per cent do think it is possible[25] (ibid.: 27). In 2010, 47 per cent of all South Africans consider that there has been an improvement in "race" relations since 1994; 30 per cent that it has stayed the same; 21 per cent believe that they have deteriorated (ibid.: 34).

Yet, in spite of this moderately positive perception of the evolution of South Africa, the 2010 picture of relationships between South Africans remains bleak. A majority of respondents continue to identify most strongly with those who speak the same mother tongue, or who belong to the same "ethnic group" or the same

"race"; only a tiny – although slowly increasing – minority give South Africa as their primary identity: 11 per cent in 2007, 14 per cent in 2010 (ibid.: 34)[26]. In terms of social interaction, 20 years after the release of Nelson Mandela and 16 years after the first democratic elections, 42 per cent of all South Africans admit that they rarely or never speak to people from other "races" on a typical weekday; 38 per cent do often or always; 20 per cent sometimes; and 30 per cent would like to do it more often (ibid.: 34). Although there has been an increase in professional and social interactions between 2003 and 2010 (ibid.: 35), these figures seem to indicate that interactions between members of different groups have been shrinking at the end of the 2000s: in 2004, respondents who answered that they had "no contact with somebody from another race on an average day" were 36 per cent; in 2008, they were 21 per cent (Hofmeyr 2008: 15). Although differences in the phrasing of the question ("no contact" in 2004 and 2008; "rarely or never speak to people from other race" in 2010) may partially explain discrepancies between the results of the 2004–2008 surveys and those of the 2010 survey, the increase in indicators recording the absence of social interaction is probably significant, and especially when put together with other findings of the 2010 Barometer: A large majority of South Africans have, from 2003 to 2010, found it difficult to understand persons from others groups; black Africans, in particular, have trouble in understanding the "customs and ways" of people of other "races", and are more likely to agree that people of other groups are "untrustworthy" (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 35). Yet, a widespread desire for more integration is clearly expressed in the 2010 Barometer: 53 per cent of all South Africans would approve or approve strongly of a close relative marrying someone of another "race"; 67 per cent have no objection to living in a "multiracial" neighbourhood; 76 per cent accept integrated classrooms; and 68 per cent are ready to work for and take instructions from a person of another "race" (ibid. 36). These figures have steadily increased since 2006[27].

On the whole, the image of South African society painted by successive Reconciliation Barometers between 2003 and 2010 is quite contrasted and confirms that it is transforming, but not without setbacks, hesitations and contradictions. Even though the relation between various levels of identity remains, at least in these surveys, unresolved, it is quite obvious that interactions between members of different groups remain limited, due to social factors[28] and the persistence of residential segregation, but probably also because of lasting impressions ("embedded knowledge") that Others are difficult to understand and cannot be trusted[29].

Recognising creolisation

In this situation, music cannot be thought of as a panacea, likely to solve all the social problems affecting contemporary South Africa. Music will be worthless if inequalities and unemployment are not seriously tackled by governmental policies. Yet, it may be useful to underline that music can contribute to promoting the idea that what binds South Africans is strong, and that music – beyond differences in musical styles and genres – has always offered a platform where all inhabitants of South Africa could meet and create together. Music provides indisputable evidence that South Africa is a creolised and creolising society. Looking at the history of South Africa in the light of the creolisation theory contributes to overcoming the difficulty to articulate non-racialism and cultural heritage fashioned within groups constructed or remodelled by racial engineering. It does not negate what, at one point in time, may be specific to a particular group. But it posits specificity as the contextual and temporary product of Relation. This implies that every heritage is mixed, cross-fertilised, and cross-fertilising; that the particular cultural practices performed within one group have been elaborated thanks to Others, through borrowings and appropriations, and can in turn be circulated among Others, for them to use, if they so wish, for their own purposes. This understanding of group heritage highlights that groups have been fashioned by histories of blending and mixing. As a consequence, whatever specificity of which members of a group may be rightly proud must be seen as the combined outcome of a dialectics of internal and external dynamics that operate even in conditions of oppression and dehumanisation. The very notion of "race" falls away to make room for the idea of one human race, which accommodates an infinite multiplicity of groups, whose borders and characteristics are mutable, whose members can exchange everything.

When inherited notions, "embedded knowledge", need to be revisited, creolisation, approached through the history of musical creation, suggests that South Africans have one common heritage, expressed in a great number of distinct practices, which, far from imprisoning in hermetic groups those who revel in them, relate them to those who invented practices that are kindred, although not strictly identical. Given the role music plays in identity configuration and re-configuration, emphasising the creole history of all South African musics supports the consolidation of feelings of belonging together compatible with attachments to smaller social entities, be they based on language, locality, origin, religion, etc. It shows that the desire to create a "united South African nation", shared by a majority of South Africans (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 27) is not an unrealistic

wish, but that this new South African nation can be erected on foundations which have been laid in the past, amidst the torments and sufferings caused by racism, segregation and apartheid. From his study of Toronto high school students, Daniel A. Yon concluded: "Identity unfolds as an odd combination of first- and second-hand memories, shifting geographies, desire for community, and resistance to being contained by community all at the same time" (Yon 2000: 26). This aptly sums up the attitudes of today's youth, in South Africa as in Canada, regarding the dilemmas of self-identity building. They aspire to be members of communities, but can't stand the idea of being trapped in communities, whether chosen or imposed. Memory provides a lens through which they can envision their relationships with various groups or communities to which they are linked, or aspire to be linked. In music, one can hear the audible trace of a past of exchanges and creations from exchanges; in the same movement, it *reminds* one that oppression has been particularly brutal and that, nevertheless, elements of culture circulated between the oppressed, and between the oppressed and their oppressors, and cross-pollinated. Music, especially music created in the last decade of the 20th century and the first of the 21st, brings to the fore a *reminiscence* of these contradictory and ambivalent relationships, and makes explicit ways of thinking likely to *heal* whatever wounds they have left. Music offers an opportunity for *recognising* (Ricœur 2000: 556) because it associates indissolubly a claim to universality and a devotion to roots, because it spurs re-evaluations and re-appropriations of the past, that can re-enchant it to nourish visions of the future opening up to the Whole-World. *Recognising* makes present, brings into the present something which was previously absent, which has apparently been erased and forgotten. It makes people *re-cognise* that something which has been absent (Ricœur 2000: 47–48). Traces left by and in music constitute material for *recognising* because they encapsulate a long history of contacts, exchanges and common creation. Through music surfaces the possibility of a form of *recognising* that the etymology of the French word makes more easily understandable: *re-con-naissance*, new birth together with others – that is a rebirth together – based on a *re-connaissance*, a renewed and revisited knowledge – that is a fresh and novel understanding of all those with whom one goes through the process of being re-born.[30] The idea of *recognising/reconnaissance* encapsulates the deeper meaning of the saying *Motho Ke Motho Ka Batho Babang*, which means in seSotho (but it has equivalents in many other South African languages): a person is a person because of/with/through other persons. Music is evidence that inhabitants of South Africa have, from the beginning, been human beings because of/with/through other inhabitants of South Africa, without exception.

In this respect, Cape Town should not be taken as an exception either. The city, and the Western Cape both have their particularities, especially from the point of view of their population composition. But these particularities are the contemporary outcome of a history that impacted strongly on the history of South Africa as a whole. Because the colonisation of South Africa began at the Cape, because slavery developed at the Cape, because all kinds of people, coming from a great many places within and without the borders of contemporary South Africa, met and mingled there, Cape Town was the first outpost of creolisation in what was to become South Africa. From there, creolisation processes eventually embraced every part of the country. Musics that were invented at the Cape, because of the particular mix of people who found themselves in the Mother City from the middle of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th, decisively influenced the creation of all 20th century South African musics. This implies that any history of South African modern music necessarily begins with the Cape. In many respects, Cape Town appears as a prototype of South Africa. Jeremy Cronin, unveiling in his poetic language Cape Town as a creole city writes: "Walk about Cape Town and you can still hear and see the undisappeared-disappeared, the multiphonic wrested from schizophrenia" (Cronin 2005: 50). However, today, Cape Town's multiphony is unsettling. Its history, the traces left by music, the reminiscences of creolisation they carry run counter to discourses that stress diversity, "culture", group exclusivity, parochialism and bigotry of every kind, discourses that are currently re-emerging in the public space and that evidently mask greed and ambition: "In the new South Africa, a small number of 'representatives' enjoy new powers and privileges on behalf of the historically disadvantaged majority. This gives us an elite politics of racialised self-righteousness. It is this dominant paradigm of our times that the mixedness, the Creole reality of Cape Town, disturbs" (Cronin 2005: 51). Given the prototypical character of Cape Town, experimentations in all kinds of musics that it continues to be home to still offer a glimpse of the future. In any case, teaching the history of South African music as creole music, teaching music and encouraging creative musical practices would contribute to fulfilling music's mission as envisioned by David B. Coplan: "In a divided society such as South Africa that seeks reformulation at all levels and a new, more coherent national identity without the benefit of a unified public culture, it may be as important for music to assist citizens in speaking truth to one another as in speaking truth to power" (Coplan 2002: 8).

Notes

1. A popular Neapolitan song (lyrics by Peppino Turco; music by Luigi Denza), composed in 1880 to celebrate the opening of the first cable car – *funicolare* – on Mount Vesuvius; recently made famous worldwide by Luciano Pavarotti and the Three Tenors.
2. Interview with Terry Hector, recorded at the Netreg Klopskammer on 2 December 2007.
3. Literally "clear"; in familiar discourse/slang: cool, super.
4. In standard Afrikaans, wicked; in familiar discourse/slang: super, excellent, with the same semantic inversion as in American English.
5. The possible allusion to Othello, and his violence against Desdemona, could, in this context, be interpreted as a recall of these prejudices aiming at defusing them by the "happy ending" of Vusie's encounter with the *Klops*.
6. M.S. Evans, *Black and White in South East Africa*, Charleston (SC), Biblio Bazaar, 2008, reproduction of the 1923 London edition.
7. A philosophical position that is clearly acknowledged by South African writer Rian Malan: "[…] the price of dominating it [the African continent] was way too high – in terms of the damage we were doing to black people, but also to ourselves. Two centuries of keeping them down had left us spiritually deformed, rotten with fear and greed, and yet we couldn't find it in ourselves to trust" (Malan 1990: 412–423).
8. *Socio Economic Profile: City of Cape Town 2006*, http://www.capegateway.gov.za/Text/2007/1/city_of_cape_town_se_profile_optimised.pdf (accessed 28/06/2011).
9. Nearly 50 per cent of the South African population is under 25 (Soudien 2009: vii).
10. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey*, http://sabarometerblog.wordpress.com/barometer-survey/ (accessed 29/06/2010).
11. See, for instance: Naidu 2006.
12. A non-exhaustive list of these incidents – which reached an apex with the racist video posted by students of the University of the Free State in October 2009 – and of the political strife that developed in parallel, is provided in: Martin 2011.
13. Trevor Manuel, "Open letter to Jimmy Manyi", http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/trevor-manuel-s-open-letter-to-jimmy-manyi-1.1034606 (accessed 1/06/2011).
14. See: Craig McKune, "Cape Town a racist city: Study", *The Cape Times*, 22 October 2009: 1. http://www.capetimes.co.za/?fSectionId=&fArticleId=vn20091022043211281C843507 (accessed 3/08/2010); "Where do all the black people work?", *The Cape Times*, 22 October 2009: 11. http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20091022090506645C265904&page_number=2 (accessed 03/08/2010); "Cape Town challenges equity report", *Mail & Guardian on line*, 28 October 2009, http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-10-28-cape-town-challenges-equity-report (accessed 03/08/2010).
15. Fanie du Toit, "New series aims to dissect attitudes around race and identity in the new SA", *The Cape Times*, 15 April 2011: 11.
16. Neville Alexander, "Race is skin deep", http://allafrica.com/stories/201105060228.html (accessed 1/06/2011).
17. Cheryl Hendricks & Jan Hofmeyr, "Race tensions rise again in the Cape", *Mail & Guardian on line*, 22 April 2005, http://mg.co.za/article/2005-04-22-race-tensions-rise-again-in-the-cape (accessed 1/06/2011).
18. Interview with Phumi Tsewu recorded in Cape Town on 16 October 2007 and intervention by Phumi Tsewu at the STIAS Round Table on Cape Town Music, Stellenbosch, 13 November 2007.

19. Brochure, Athlone Academy of Music, ca. 2007.
20. Lorraine Roubertie's dissertation includes a comprehensive survey of public and private institutions where jazz and related musics are taught in the Western Cape: Roubertie 2012.
21. See the summary of the controversies in which she was involved in the early 1990s at: http://www.answers.com/topic/barbara-masekela (accessed 13/07/2011).
22. In the proposed expenditures for 2003–2007: Heritage Promotion accounts for 48,5 per cent of the total (Department of Arts and Culture 2007: 10), in the projected expenses 2008–2010, it is reduced to 40 per cent of the total, but when added, Heritage Promotion, National Archives, Meta-Information and Heraldic Services constitute together 65 per cent of the total (ibid.: 52).
23. The Provincial Musician's Forum led to the creation of the Western Cape Musicians' Association (WCMA), which developed from the initiative of a group of musicians who teamed up to contribute to Robbie Jansen's health expenses when he fell ill in 2005. In 2007, the WCMA was registered. It endeavours to organise medical aid and a burial fund for members, and to protect the musicians' rights. It participates in events such as the Amy Biehl Foundation's Cape Township Jazz Festival, held in Gugulethu in March 2011. But its vision and mission remain centred on the development of the music industry (http://www.wcma.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=37&Itemid=11&limitstart=2; accessed 22/05/2011; http://westerncapemusiciansassociation.blogspot.com/2007/04/wcma-vision-mision.html; accessed 15/07/2011).
24. "Isandla Institute's mission is to act as a public interest think-tank with a primary focus on fostering just, equitable and democratic urban settlements. This is enhanced through innovative research and advocacy interventions" (http://isandla.org.za/about/what-we-do/; accessed 15/07/2011).
25. But white South Africans are "less likely than other groups to view national unification as either desirable or possible" (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 27). Between 2007 and 2010, white respondents have consistently expressed lower positive evaluations of "race" relations than those of other groups; in 2010, Africans and Asians are more likely to record improvements in race relations than whites and coloureds (ibid.: 20).
26. Another survey concluded that in 1999 61 per cent of interviewees identified themselves as South Africans, 15 per cent indicated that their primary identity was in terms of their language group, and 10 per cent mentioned their "racial" category (Ramutsindela 2002: 47–48). It is highly unlikely that identification as South African has declined to a mere 14 per cent 11 years later. It merely confirms that answers are largely conditioned by the way questions are posed and questionnaires are organised and, consequently, that these figures can only be taken as indications that have to be correlated with other comparable data. When doing this, it has to be taken into account that the methodology (including the phrasing of questions) of the *South African Reconciliation Barometer* has remained almost identical since its inception and therefore that, even if absolute figures must be treated with caution, their evolution is likely to signal real trends. But it remains to be checked if, in the mind of South Africans who filled in the questionnaires, identification with a language or "ethnic" group is incompatible with identification to South Africa, and if variations in their answers do not point at the existence of cumulative identities.
27. See figure 29 (Lefko-Everett et al. 2011: 36).
28. All studies confirm that the higher the income, the more frequent the interactions.
29. The two factors being clearly linked: it is obviously more difficult to understand and trust people you do not associate with on a regular basis.
30. And not "born again" in the understanding of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches.

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Illustrations

Carnival in Hermanus iv
The street band movement, now a regular feature of the *Kaapse Klopse Karnaval* 33
Tom Tom Dance - Mozambiques and Mixed Race by Charles Davidson Bell, circa 1830 68
Brothers Ismail and Gamja Dante 110
The Eoan Group building in Hanover Street, District Six 123
Koos Kombuis, one of the heroic figures of the rock movement 151
Vincent Kolbe remembering the songs he heard when growing up in District Six 187
A popular Cape Town dance band of the 1950s 199
Dollar Brand/Abdullah Ibrahim, who re-invented South African jazz several times 217
Mongezi Feza and Dudu Pukwana, of the Blue Notes and the Brotherhood of Breath 219
Saxophonist Robbie Jansen, companion of Abdullah Ibrahim and initiator of Cape jazz 235
Chris McGregor, piano player, band leader and composer 259
Rashid Vally in a recording studio in the 1970s 263
Composers and pianists Paul Hanmer, Sibusiso Njeza and Michael Blake 291
Pauline Malefane as Carmen, on the cover of the DVD *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha* 313
The Ikey Gamba band in the 1950s, a pillar of *langarm* parties 335
The Lentegeur Las Vegas klops and the Tulips Malay Choir in practice 339
The words of "Vusie van Guguletu" on the wall of the Netreg Superstars' *klopskamer* 361

Musicians Interviewed in 2007 and 2009

Billy Baatjes, 27 November 2007, Kensington

Wayne Bosch, 12 October 2007, Parow

Bertie Coetzee, 23 October 2007, Stellenbosch

Raji Divajee and Ismail Philander, 30 October 2007, Kensington

Garth Erasmus and Glen Arendse, 10 October 2007, Bellville

Ikey Gamba, 8 November 2007, Kensington

Hlanganani Marimba Band (Andile Kraai, Simpiwe Mkaza, "Steve" Mvuzo Ndengezi, Luyanda Mafanga), 3 October 2007, Langa

Emile Jansen (a.k.a Emile YX?), 21 November 2007, Cape Town

Samuel J. Jonker, 21 November 2007, Athlone

Reza Khota, 4 October 2007, Observatory

Vincent Kolbe, 31 October 2007, Southfield

David Kramer, 10 October 2007, Rondebosch

Libertas Choir (Laura Dutoit, Sarene Langenegger, Vuyiswa [family name unknown], Vuyo Swatbooi), 25 October 2007, Stellenbosch

Camillo Lombard, 10 October 2007, Kensington

André Manuel, 20 November 2007, Rondebosch

Pamela Mtati, Titi Tsira and musicians friends, 17 October 2007, Nyanga

Duke Ngcukana, 20 November 2007, Rondebosch

Glen Robertson, 28 November 2007, Claremont

Ian Smith, 11 November 2009, Rondebosch

Phumelele "Phumi" Tsewu, 16 October 2007, Cape Town

Young members of the Tulips Malay Choir, 16 November 2007, Mitchell's Plain

Alex van Heerden, 6 November 2007, Solms Wine Estate

Timon Wapenaar, 4 October 2007, Kalk Bay

George Werner, 2 November 2007, Rondebosch

STIAS Round Tables, 13 November 2007, Stellenbosch:

- "What is Cape Town music?" (participants: Anwar Gambeno, Phumi Tsewu, Timon Wapenaar, George Werner)
- "What is South African music?" (participants: Sylvia Bruinders, David Coplan, Anri Herbst, Christine Lucia, Ncebakazi Mnukwana, Stephanus Muller, Michael Nixon)

Students of the Xulon Music Tech, 16 October 2007, Kensington

Index

This index is arranged word-by-word. Aspects for the term "Cape Town" are used sparingly since the text mainly covers Cape Town. It is not possible to include all personal names and names of groups, bands, choirs, etc. mentioned in the text. The focus of the index is on music and musical issues, and therefore only main political events are included. Names of foreign countries, place names and persons are excluded, unless a section in the text is specially devoted to such a place or person.

2 January Parade *see Tweede Nuwe Jaar* parade
20th century
    fertile intertwining 209-265
    futile separations 103-172
    separation and interweaving 103-265
aangee 114
Abrahams, Paul 242
acculturation 40-42, 68
Adams, Jimmy 195, 209, 212, 213, 247
adaptive identities 377-378
Africa as consciousness 167-171
African-American music(s) 12-13, 17, 18, 28, 34, 38, 41, 42, 45, 82, 232, 246
African National Congress 223, 240, 368, 369, 373, 376
African(s) 104-106
    bands 212
    Cape Town 87-92, 130-133
    concerts 137-140
    dance 137-140
    jazz 137-140, 214, 227, 247, 283, 307, 322
    kwela 137-140
    makwaya 133-134
    marabi 135-137
    music(s) 26, 27-28, 41, 42, 44, 129-140, 337
    orchestras 211
    religious music 72, 106

Afrikaans 68, 140-171, 202, 287-288, 299, 304, 340, 341, 342
rock 149-156, 321-322
Afrikaaps 296
Afrikaner youth 286, 288
Afro-Christian hymns 302
Afro-nationalism 57
Afro-pop 234, 284
Afro-rock 156
Airborne 303
alliances and connections 19-20
Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement 154
alternative modernities 13, 44-46
Alvarez-Pereyre, Frank 3
amakwaya see makwaya
Amampondo 169, 301, 310
Ambassadors School of Dancing 219
Ambassador's Theatre Company 309
ambivalences and contradictions 46-47
ANC *see* African National Congress
Ansell, Gwen 270
apartheid 63, 104, 127, 223-226, 240-243, 305, 365, 368
exiled musicians 267-271
freedom to create 319-323
musical struggles 240-243
appropriation 39-42, 91
Arendse, Glen 317, 318, 335, 338, 346
Army brass band 211
Arom, Simha 3
"art" music 28, 160-167, 289-294
(in) Cape Town 121-122
Arts Festival 125
Artscape 293
Asmal, Kader 371
Athlone 272-273
Athlone Academy of Music 335, 336, 373

Baatjies, Billy 335, 347
Balandier, Georges 48, 86, 366

Ballantine, Christopher 233, 321, 322
Baloi, Gito 286, 315
Bambaataa, Afrika 295, 298
bands 78, 80, 107-110, 189, 198-201, 304, 337, 340-342, 348
see also names of specific bands
Army 211
brass 107-108
Christmas choirs 107-108, 198-199
coloureds 107-110
jazz 211-213, 283
langarm 108-110, 214, 244
marimba 300-302, 310, 321, 337, 340, 346, 348
Navy 211
qasidah 118-120, 278
rock 288
ska 288
street 274
Bantu-speaking peoples 130-133, 249, 365
Bantu Young Ideas 138
Barrow, Merton, 281
Bayete 233
be-bop 187, 227, 284
Bed on Bricks 287
Beer, Ronnie 214
Bell, WH 164, 167
Benjamin, Sathima Bea 209, 210, 218
Bernoldus Niemand 151-156, 287, 288
Besteman, Catherine 368
big bands 198-199
jazz 211-213, 283
Big Six 137
bikutsi 17
black(s)
music 18, 42, 44, 48, 88, 339
musicians 259
Black Consciousness Movement 231, 232, 240, 295, 298
Black Noise 295, 297
Black Power Movement 38, 232

Black South Africans
music 12-13
blackface minstrelsy 80, 81
Blake, Michael 290-292, *291 ill,* 315, 320
blending 90-92
Blue Notes 214, 219, 220-221, 227, 259-261, 305
blues 38, 41-42, 45
bands 288, 341
boeremusiek 94, 141-144, 249, 275, 289, 316-317, 320, 339, 345
Bokwe, John Knox 72, 134
Bosch, Wayne 281
Bourdieu, Pierre 12
Bow Project 292, 315, 321
brass bands 80, 107-108, 211
Brasse Vannie Kaap 296, 297, 320
Brathwaite, Kamau 61
Brazil 193-194
breakdancing 295
Bridges, Bles 146
Briel family 146-147
Bright Blue 157, 159, 288
bringing people together 339-341
broadcasting system 224-226
Brotherhood of Breath 219
building materials 5-7
culture 7-7
history and memory 5-6
space and territory 6
Burchell, William John 365
bushmen 316, 345, 365
Butler, Melvin L 16
Byerly, Ingrid 364

Caluza, Reuben T 134
CAPAB *see* Cape Performing Arts Board
Cape Coon troupe 84
Cape District Association 273
Cape Flats 298, 367

Cape jazz 190, 210, 239, 244-248, 283, 306, 307, 345, 352
Cape Malay Choir Board 111, 342
Cape Malayans 78
Cape Music Institute 282, 335
Cape Musicians Association 224
Cape of Good Hope 53, 64-65, 69
    slavery 54
Cape Performing Arts Board 141, 292
    CAPAB Opera 293
Cape Philharmonic Orchestra 292, 311
Cape Philharmonic Youth Orchestra 292
Cape Philharmonic Youth Wind Ensemble 292
Cape Town 10, 187
    Africa as consciousness 167-171
    Africans 130-133
    Afro-Pop 234
    "art" music 121-122
    as musical "potjiekos" 333-354
    be-bop 187
    carnivals 80-85
    coloureds music 106-129
    creation 319-323
    creolisation 53-100, 129, 382
    dance bands 137, *199 ill,* 199-201
    dance orchestras 211
    fusions 156-160, 233-234
    internal exoticism 167-171
    jazz 187-188, 209-251
    jazz big bands 211-213
    jazz development 209-251
    minstrels 80-81
    musicians 333-354
    music(s) 53-100, 105, 188, 209-251, 339, 342-344, 382
    New Year festivals 54, 80-85, 187
    politics 369-371
    populations 132, 368
    post-be-bop jazz 214
    "situation" 87-90

society 65-66
sounds of 337, 343-349
Cape Town Carnaval 273
Cape Town Composers' Workshop 314
Cape Town International Jazz Festival 279, 375
Cape Town Karnaval 272-273
Cape Town Minstrels Carnival Association 272
Cape Town Municipal Orchestra 122, 127
Cape Town Opera 293
Cape Town Orchestra 121
Cape Town Reggae Tour 293
Cape Town Symphony Orchestra 310
carnivals 201-203
Grand New Year Coloured Carnival 84-85
New Year 84
New Year Coon Carnival 111
troupes 82-83
Carstens, Nico 143
categorisation and identification 14-15
Catholics 192, 197, 205
Celtics 83
censorship 222-226
Central Malay Choir 143
Centre for Jazz and Popular Music 281
"Champion of Champions" 273
changes in music 13
Cherry Faced Lurchers 152
Chivallon, Christine 6
choirs 275-277, 340
see also names of specific choirs
choosing and combining through music 11-13
Christian(s) 65, 133-134, 287
hymns 72, 134, 136
songs 95
Christmas
bands 198-199
Choirs 107-108, 116, 198-199, 201, 211, 214, 271-275, 336, 347, 373
church music 16, 192, 199, 302-305

City and Suburban Christmas Bands' Union 107
Civil Rights Movement 38
classical music 27, 28, 32, 121-122, 160-171
Clegg, Johnny 154-155, 233
Cloete, Johan 170-171
clubs 222-223
Clubs of the Cape *see Kaapse Klopse*
CMCB *see* Cape Malay Choir Board
CMI *see* Cape Music Institute
Coetzee, Basil 190, 231, 234-237, 239, 242
Coetzee, Bertie 288, 341, 345
Coetzee, Hannes 316
Cold Castle Moroka Jabavu Jazz Festival 220
collective memory 7
College of Music 204, 205, 218, 270, 281, 293, 301, 312, 334
    Diploma of Jazz Studies 281
Colonial Cape
    creolisation 67-74
    society 67
colonialism/colonisation 43-44, 63, 86-87, 382
colour
    rehabilitation of 55-57
coloureds 65, 103-104
    "art" music 121-122
    bands 107-110
    carnivals 80-85
    Christmas Choirs 107-108
    creolisation 128-129
    dance bands 212
    Eoan Group 120-128
    identities 54
    Klopse 116-118
    langarm 108-110
    moppies 112-113
    music among 106-129, 167
    musicians 209-214
    nederlandsliedjies 113-116
    origins 92-94

qasidah bands 118-120
vocal groups 111-129
communities
identity of 12
imagining of 13
musical enactment 14
musical traditions 24
nationalism 27
competitions and contests 20-21, 111, 112
klopse 84, 85, 272, 273
composers 161-164, 292
see also names of specific composers
concept of trace 22-23
recognising 23
reminding 22
reminiscing 22
concert halls 222-223
concerts 137-140, 283
configuration(s)
narratives 8-9
of identity 8-9, 10, 14, 19-29, 37, 48-49
connections
and alliances 19-20
construction of place 24-27
contemporary gospel 302-305
contests 20-21
continuities
transforming 271-294
contradictions 46-47
social 366-368
Cook, Nicholas 10
Coon Carnival 111, 271, 273
coons 83, 84, 116-118, 201-203, 211
Coplan, David B 54, 82, 105, 107, 268, 269, 286, 302
Cornelius, Rasdien 115
Cornwalls 118
costumes
klopse 84

CPO *see* Cape Philharmonic Orchestra
create/creation 37-49
alternative modernities 44-46
ambivalences and contradictions 46-47
and group consciousness 38-39
appropriation 39-42
freedom to 319-323
groups 366
identities 339-341
interweaving 244-251
music as social revealer 47-48
re-signification 42-44
see also musical creation
creole music 18, 26, 87
creoleness 60-61
creolisation 60-61, 67, 90-92, 248-251
as relation 61-63
Cape Town 53-100, 120, 129
Colonial Cape 67-74
coloured 128-129
legacy 53-95
meanings 54-67
originary blending 248-251
preludes 74-80
processes 85-87
recognising 359-382
South Africa 63-67
creolised identities 1-100
emergence of 3-52
creolising South Africa 63-67
Cronin, Jeremy 382
Crusaders 233
CTC *see* Cape Town Carnival
Cuban music 45
cultural
heritage 371, 373
hybridity 58
identity 61-63

idiosyncrasies 63
marooning 87
policies 373-377
culture(s) 6-7, 19-20, 40-42, 44, 53-100, 127
musical 104, 345

DA *see* Democratic Alliance
Dala Flat Records 318, 336, 338
dance 137-140
bands 137, *199 ill,* 199-201, 212
music 45, 91
orchestras 211
dancing 69-71, 94, 122, 190, 196-197, 199-201, 203
Dante, Gamja *110 ill*
Dante, Ismail *110 ill*
De Lange, David 143, 317, 320
De Vyf, Daniel 75
Delft Big Band 283
Democratic Alliance 368, 369, 376
Department of Arts and Culture 373-375
Die Voortrekker Danskwartet 143
Die Vyf Vastrappers 143
Die Weigens Suikerbossie-Orkes 143
differences
music as a system of 14-21
discipline
music teaching 336-337
District Six 103, 132, 187, 188, 192, 198, 200, 204, 212, 298, 307
District Six : The Musical 359
diversity and mixtures 344-347
Dollar Brand 139, 189, 216, 217, 230, 259, 263
see also Ibrahim, Abdullah
Draft National Culture Policy 373
Drewett, Michael 145, 149
Du Plessis, ID 168
Du Plessis, Koos 148
Dubar, Claude 3-4
Dube, Lucky 294

Dutch East India Company (VOC) 53, 64, 65, 74, 111
dynamics 39

ECC *see* End Conscription Campaign
educational policies 371-373
End Conscription Campaign 146, 148, 149
English-speaking songsters 146
Eoan Group 120-128
    achievements 122-124
    ambiguities 127-128
    "art" music 121-122
    building *123 ill*
    Gabriels, Joseph 126
    relocation and decline 124
    weaknesses 124-126
Erasmus, Dougie 206
Erasmus, Garth 317, 318, 337
eulogy of creoleness 60-61
Evita Bezuidenhout *see* Uys, Pieter-Dirk
exile 226-228
experimental identities 368

Fagan, Gideon 167
FAK bundle 340
feeling through music 11
Ferguson, Jennifer 146
fertile intertwining 209-257
festivals
    arts 125
    music 375
    New Year 116
    Van Riebeeck Festival 111
Feza, Mongezi *219 ill*
Fezeka High School Choir 276, 277, 310, 345, 346
fiddle 76
fieldmusic 71
flute music
    hocket technique 53

Fokofpolisiekar 287
folk
music 28
songs 157, 340
Foto na Dans 288
Four Yanks 220
free jazz 38
freedom
to create 319-323
two decades of 267-332
Freshly Ground 286, 346
Funny Carp 296
fusions 91, 231-240
and rock 285-289
Coetzee, Basil 234-236
Cape Town 156-160, 233-234
Genuines 236-237
integrations 232-233
Jansen, Robbie 234-236, *235 ill*
Mountain Records 238-240
Sabenza 237
shifty 238-240
futile separations 103-185

Gaba, Ntsikana 72
Gabriels, Joseph 126
gajjat 114
Gamba, Ikey 336, 346, 348
Gambeno, Anwar 335, 336, 337, 342
GEAR *see* Growth , Employment and Redistribution
Genuines 236-237
Gertze, Johnny 187, 205-206, 218
Get the Colour Right 309
ghoema 237, 307, 337, 345, 349-354
beat 109, 169, 245, 304, 320, 347-349, 351-354, 366
drum 75, 84, 108, 351
jazz-*ghoema* mix 236
Ghoema 307

ghoemaliedjies 112-113
Gillies, Arthur 206
Glasser, Stanley 164-165
Glissant, Édouard 3, 54-55, 60-61, 63, 67, 129, 171, 285, 319, 364-366
global-local 286
Goema Symphony 314, *315,* 347
Goldberg, Morris 259
gom-gom 75
Goosen, Anton 147
gospel 47, 284, 302-305, 342
Grahamstown National Arts Festival 291
Gramadoelas 316
Grand New Year Coloured Carnival 84-85
Green Point Stadium 272, 273
Green Point Track 85
group consciousness
    musical creation 38-39
Group(s) 6-8, 9, 11, 15-17
    creation 366
groups and their music 20-21, 29-35, 49
    social 33-35
    women 31-33
    youth 29-31
Growth, Employment and Redistribution 374

Hanmer, Paul 284, *291 ill*
Harmony Kings 212
Harper, Peggy 204
Hawker, Temmy 195, 199-201, 209, 212-213
healing 341-343
Hector, Terry 359, 360
Hendrik Susan en Sy Orkes 143
Herholdt, Sonja 147
Herman, Ian 286
Heymann, Dan 159-160
Highborn Coons 83
hip-hop 294, 295, 300
history

and memory 5-6, 21-23
teaching of 371
Hlanganani *Marimba* Band 310, 337, 340, 348
Hlanganani Traditional Group 302
Hofmeyr, Hendrik 290
HOPE movement 304
Hotline 156
Hottentots 69, 76
hybridity 55, 57-60
hymns 72, 94, 106, 136, 302

Ibrahim, Abdullah 139, 189, 190, 214, 215, 216-218, *217 ill,* 227-228, 230-231, 280, 284, 311, 336, 374
M7 Music School 282
South African jazz 312
urban mix 216-218
identification
and categorisation 14-15
identities
adaptive 377-378
coloured 54
creation 339-341
creolized 1-100
experimental 368
recreation 339-341
identity 337-338, 378-379
and culture 59, 61-63
and traditions 337-338
communities 12
configuration(s) 8-9, 10, 14, 19-29, 37, 48-49
construction 4, 5-7
entrepreneurs 7-8
enterprises 7-8
framework for study 3-9
individuals 12
music 3-52
narratives/narrativity 5, 9
otherness 4-5

idiosyncrasies
    cultural 63
Ikey Gamba band *335 ill,* 346
imagining through music 13-14
individuals
    identities of 12
infinite adventures 315-319
innovation 337
integrations
    South African 232-233
interaction
    social 379
internal exoticism 167-171
interracial music 18
interstices 57-60
intertwining 209-265
interviews
    musicians 333-334
    Rashid Vally 263-266
interweaving and separation
    20th century 103-265
    fertile intertwining 209-265
    futile separations 103-172
interweaving to creation 244-251
    Cape Jazz 244-248
    Originary blending and creolisation 248-251
Intsholo 310

Jacobs, Sean 55
James, Wilmot 371
Jan van Riebeeck 73
Jansen, Robbie 190, 191, 231, 234-236, *235 ill,* 239, 242, 307, 375
jazz 38, 45, 200, 259-262, 279-285
    African 214, 283, 322
    bands 211-213
    big bands 211-213, 283
    Cape (Cape Jazz) 190, 210, 239, 244-248, 283, 345, 352
    Cape Town 187-188, 209-251
    concerts 283

culture 212, 215
development in Cape Town 209-251
festivals 220
-fusions 232
-ghoema mix 236
modern 214, 227
musicians 209-210
-rock 232
teaching 281-283
township 283, 285, 320
Jazz Epistles 21, 227, 264
Jazz Giants 220
Jazz Maniacs 137, 138
Jazz Revellers 137
Jazz Workshop 281
Jephta, Harold 187, 205-206, 215
Johannes Kerkorrel 151-156, 287
Jonker, Samuel J 335, 34
Juluka 155

Kaapse Karnaval 273
Kaapse Klopse 83, 116-118, 348
Karnaval 33 ill, 271, 359
music 116-118
New Year carnival 84
see also Klopse
Kaapse Klopse Karnaval Association 273
Kalahari Surfers 150, 151, 159
Kaleidoscope 303
karienkels 114
kasedas *see* Qasidah
Khoi Khonnexion 306, 315, 317-318, 320, 321, 335, 338, 343, 346
Khoikhoi 53, 66, 67, 69, 72, 74, 75, 92, 128, 130, 249, 316, 350, 365
Khoisan 306, 348-350, 366
Khota, Reza 345
Kimberley 105
Kirby, Percival R 73, 74, 161, 164, 351
Klaasen, Thandie 203

Klein Karoo National Arts Festival 316, 375
Klopse 271-275, 342, 345, 351, 352, 359-360, 373
competitions 84, 85, 112, 272, 273
costumes 84
creation 320
groove 347-349
see also Kaapse Klopse
Klopse Karnival 271
Kolbe, Vincent *187 ill,* 209, 212, 213*, 244,* 346
childhood memories 187-206
Koos Kombuis 149, 151-156, *151 ill,* 287
Kramer, David 156-159, 239, 284-285, 307, 316, 339, 345, 348, 351, 359
kransdans 108
kroncong 112
Kussel, George 213, 259
kwaito 294
kwela 137-140, 219, 304, 307

Lads' Brigade 211
Langa 103, 131, 203-204, 212, 283, 300, 337
langarm 94, 108-110, 189, 215, 237
bands 214, 244, 271-275, 336, 346
Latin bands 206
Laubscher, Japie 143
laws and regulations
affecting musicians 223-226
Lee, Lenny 214
Lee-Thorpe, Patrick 239
Lentegeur Las Vegas *klops 339 ill*
liberation 270
Libertas Choir 276, 277, 290, 340, 345, 346, 347
Lindberg, Dawn 146
Lindberg, Des 146
lingoe 108
Little Giants 282, 306, 335
"Living Heritage Jazz Concerts" 283
Lomax, Alan 11
Lombard, Camillo 342, 346

Cape Music Institute 335
Xulon Music Tech 335, 337
Louw, Jethro 317
Lucey, Roger 146
Lucia, Christine 228-229

M7 Music School 282
Mabuse, Sipho "Hotstix" 232, 233
Madagascar enigma 92-94
Mahlangu, Khaya 233
makossa 17
makwaya 95, 133-134, 250, 275, 320
Malay Band 78
Malay Choirs 112, 116, 199, 201, 345, 347, 348
Malays 79, 88-90
Malefane, Pauline *313 ill*
Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy 371
Mankundu, Winston 375
Mammoth Quadrille Band 78-79
Mandela, President Nelson 267, 271-272
Manhattan Brothers 214, 215
"Mannenberg" 189-191, 195, 231, 234, 241, 264-265
Manuel, André 318, 336, 338, 339, 341
manumission 65
MAPP *see* Music Action for People's Power
marabi 94, 138, 140, 198, 200, 204, 211, 213, 221, 227, 284, 322, 353, 366
matrix 135-137
marches/marching 82, 84, 274
bands 107
competitions 85
marimba bands 169, 300-302, 310, 321, 337, 340, 346, 348
Martin, Denis-Constant
Rashid Vally interview 263-265
Masekela, Barbara 373
Masidlale Music Project 292
Matole, Simphiwe 301
Matthews, Melvyn 274
Mbambisa, Tete 215, 220

mbaqanga 138, 219, 227, 304
Mbityana, Blyth 198, 203
McGregor, Chris 214, 216, 218-226, *259 ill*, 259-262
McGregor, Tony 223, 226, 279
Mchunu, Sipho 154-155
McKenzie, Mac 314, 315
meaning 14, 46, 49
    of creolisation 54-67
memories and (re)creations 305-319
    infinite adventures 315-319
    musicals 307-309
    new encounters 309-315
    rediscoveries 315-319
    Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying 305-307
memory
    and history 5-6
    and music 21-23
    collective 7
Merry Blackbirds 137, 138
Merry Macs 198, 212
Merry Mascots 137
mestiçagem 55-57, 63
métissages 57-60, 62, 67, 91, 210, 248
Michael, Cheryl-Ann 54
Middleton, Richard 13
Miller, Colin 210
Mills Brothers 197
Minstrel Carnival 271
minstrels(y) 80-81
miscegenation 63
mixtures
    and diversity 344-347
Mlomo, Joel M'Brooks 213
modern jazz 214, 215, 284
modernity 250
Moeketsi, Kippie 139, 214, 227
Moerane, Michael 161-162
Mohapeloa, JP 161-162

Moholo, Louis 226, 228
Mokone, Henry 198, 202, 203
Molelekoa, Moses 211
Molo Songololo 299
Moodphase5 299
moppies 94, 112-113, 245, 274, 276, 296, 335, 340, 347, 351, 359
Moravian
    brass bands 80
    sound 339
Mother City *see* Cape Town
Mountain Records 238-240, 280
Muller, Carol A 106
Muller, Stephanus 292
Murray, Ian 309
musette 13, 43
music
    among Africans 129-140
    among Coloureds 106-129
    among the Whites 140-171
    and adaptive identities 377-378
    and construction of place 24-27
    and history 21-23
    and identity 3-52, 378-379
    and identity configuration(s) 10-14, 20-21
    and memory 21-23
    and nationalism 27-29
    and politics 35-37, 267-332
    and space 24-27
    and thinking 10-14
    and tradition 23-24
    as a "social revealer" 47-48, 366
    as a system of differences 14-21
    categorisation 17
    changes in 13
    choosing and combining through 11-13
    churches 16
    classical 27
    creolised 87

feeling through 11
festivals 375
imagining through 13-14
interracial 18
Kaapse Klopse 116-118
relation in 364-366
rural 106
scenes 25
social frames 21-29
social function 343
social power 334-343
soul 264
styles 15, 17, 34
teaching 335-336, 372
Music Action for People's Power 187, 205, 242-243, 282
musical
categories 15
changes 13
creation 307-49
cultures 345
differences 15, 16, 19-21
exchanges 53
forms 14
genres 18, 28, 333
instruments 53-95
meaning 14, 46, 49
memory 23
object 14
potjiekos 333-356
products 14
scenes 25
struggles 240-243
styles 15, 17, 34
symbolism 46
traditions 23-24
traits 15-16
musical creation 37-49
group consciousness 38-39

musicals 307-309
musicians
see also names of specific musicians
and United Democratic Front 241
exile 226-228, 267-271
fusions 231-240
jazz 209-214
laws/regulations affecting 223-226
musics
African 26, 27-28, 41, 42, 44
African-American 12-13, 17, 18, 28, 34, 38, 41, 42, 45
Cape Town 53-100, 105, 188, 343-349
South African 248-251 344, 380-382
Muslims 88-89, 114, 117, 118-120, 278-279
religious music 76, 77

Nagtroepe 108, 118, 214, 273, 274, 352
narratives/narrativity 8-9
identity 8
National Arts Council 268
National Eisteddfodd Academy 276
national music(s) 27, 28
nationalism
and music 27-29
Navy brass band 211
nederlandsliedjies 76, 94, 95, 112, 113-116, 335, 351
neighbourhoods and music 26
Netreg Superstars 359
new encounters 309-315
New Music Indaba(s) 291, *291 ill,* 292
New Music SA 292
new trends 294-305
contemporary gospel 302-305
marimba bands 300-302
rap 294-300
New Year
carnivals 84, 84-85, 211
competitions 111
festivals 54, 116, 271

furnace 80-85
New Year Klopse 83
Newman, Steve 286
Ngcukana brothers 374
Ngcukana, Christopher "Columbus" 195, 198, 202, 209, 214, 215, 219
Ngcukana, Duke 243, 245, 307
Ngozi, Winston Makundu 229-230
Ngqwanana, Zim 270
Ngwenya, Temba 233
Nico Malan theatre 141
Njeza, Sibusiso *291 ill*
Nkanuka, "Cups and Saucers" 110, 138, 202, 209, 213, 214, 219, 283
Nkosi Sikilel' iAfrika 163, 165, 168
Not My Dog 320
Ntoni, Victor 374
Ntshoko, Makaya 218
Nuttal, Sarah 54

Oesmaniyah *Qasidah* Band 120
Oneself 4-5
opera 121, 196-197, 289-294
moppie 359-360
Opera House 121, 292
Artscape 293
orchestras
dance 211
slaves 70
organ pedalboard 197-198
Original Jubilee Singers 84
originary blending 248-251
Oswietie 230, 234
Other(s) 4-5, 7, 8, 42, 63, 341, 368, 380
otherness 4-5
identity 4-5
"our" music 15-16, 18-19

Pacific Express 233-234
pantun 112
parades 82, 84, 272

paradoxical transformation 378-379
Peeva, Adela 20-21
pennywhistle 139
Pentecostal music 303-304, 337, 348
Petersen, Taliep 158-159, 307, 359
Pillay, Lionel 215, 264, 265
PJ Powers 156
Plaatjies, Dizu Zungula Mzikantu 301
place
    construction of 24-27
PoC *see* Prophets of da City
policies
    cultural 373-377
    educational 371-373
politics
    and music 35-37, 267-332
    South Africa 369-371
pop music(s) 28, 30, 144-149, 156-160
popular
    music 285
    songs 48
post-be-bop jazz 214, 227
post-modernity 57-60
Prophets of da City 295, 296, 342
Provincial Musician's Forum 376
Pukwana, Dudu *219 ill*
Pumpkin Darkies 83
punk-rock 320

Qasidah 95
    bands 118-120, 278-279, 337, 342
Qasidah Classix 118, 337
quadrilles 72, 79, 109, 188

race/racial/racism 59, 64-67, 53-100, 103-106, 223, 305, 367, 369-373
    differences/differentiation 35, 66
    superiority 63
racialist
    ideologies 63

music 365
thinking 369-371
Radio Kalahari Orkes 317, 319, 320
rainbow balls 71
ramkie 72-73
rap 37, 294-300
Rauch, Laurika 147
Reconciliation Barometers 379
Reconciliation Day 306
recording companies 226
rediscoveries 315-319
reggae 27, 31, 37, 46-47, 294
rehabilitation of colour 55-57
relation in music 319, 364-366, 380
Renaissance 228-231
repression 222-226
re-signification 42-44
resilience of racialist thinking 369-371
restaurants 222-223
Revised National Curriculum 2002 372
Ricca, Cecil 214
Ricœur, Paul 4, 8, 21-23, 59, 354, 381
Robertson, Glenn 303, 304, 305
rock 30, 37, 156-160, 232, 285-289, 321-322, 341
rock and roll 149-156
Rodger, Douglas 288
romanticism of *mestiçagem* 55-57
Roosenschoon, Hans 164, 168, 169-170, 289-290
Roots Reggae Nights 293
Ros, Edmundo 197
Rosa 308
Ross, Lloyd 238
Rubens, Harold 204
rural music 106
SABC *see* South African Broadcasting Corporation
Sabenza 237
Sakhile 233
Salvation Army
brass bands 80

SAMA *see* South African Musicians' Alliance
SAMRO *see* Southern African Music Rights Organisation
Sangkore 271-275, 276, 320, 336, 351, 352, 379
SAUCBB *see* South African United Christmas Bands' Board
Savuka 155, 233
scenes
    of music 25
Schilder, Hilton 318
Schilder, Tony 206
Self 4-5, 8
separation and interweaving
    20th century 103-265
    fertile intertwining 209-265
    futile separations 103-172
Sheer Sounds 279-280, 284
Shell, Robert C-H 54, 64
Shifty Records 146, 149, 238-240
ship connection 194-196
Silvester, Victor 196, 197
singing 69-70, 80-85, 305-307
ska bands 288, 341
slavery/slaves 41, 43, 54, 56, 60, 63, 65, 67, 87, 92-94
    dancing 72, 77-78
    orchestras 70, 71
Smith, Ian 283
social
    change 47-48
    contradictions 366-368
    function of music 343
    ills 337
    interaction 379
    power of music 334-343
social frames of music 21-29
    music and memory 21-23
    music and nationalism 27-29
    music and space 24-27
    music and tradition 23-24
social groups

music 33-35
social revealers
music 47-48
socio-musical process 42
Soga, Tiyo 72
Solid Brass Quintet 310
songs 192-193, 290, 305-307
coon 211
ditties 75
folk 340
political 35-37
popular 48
religious 72, 302-305
social groups 33-35
women 31-33
Xhosa 191, 198
youth 29-30
Songs Worth Singing, Words Worth Saying
workshops 305, 307, 320, 334
Sonny, Warrick 150, 159
Sons of Trout 287
Sontonga, Enoch 134
sopvleis 245
"Sorrento" 193
Soudien, Crain 12-13, 377-378
soul music 38
sounds of Cape Town 337, 343-349
soundscapes 24-27
South Africa(n)
broadcasting system 224-226
composers 161-164
creolisation/creolising 63-67, 380-382
cultural heritage 371
debate 54-55
history teaching 371
integrations 232-233
jazz 215-222, 279-285
music(s) 53, 248-251, 364, 378-379, 380-382

politics 369-371
rock 156-160, 288
society 259-262
soul music 264
urban black music 48
South African Broadcasting Corporation 143, 144, 162, 225-226, 269
South African College of Music 121
South African Musicians' Alliance 269
South African United Christmas Bands' Board 107
Southern African Music Rights Organisation 162-163
Southern-Holt, Helen 122, 124-125
"Soweto Sun"
interview Rashid Vally 263-266
space(s)
and music 24-27
and territory 6
Springbok Nude Girls 287, 289, 322
Staegemann, Don 214, 219
steel
bands *33 ill*, 35
parades 33, *33 ill*
Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies 333-334
STIAS *see* Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies
street bands 274
struggles 240-243
Suid-Afrikaanse Koorraad 111
Sunday dances 77
Swart, Valiant 321-322
Swingettes 138
symbolisation 42, 46

Tafelberg Koorraad 111
"Tafelberg samba" 189-191, 195
Tananas 285, 315
Taylor, Jeremy 146
teaching 335-336
jazz 281-283
television services 269

territory and space 6
The Four Sounds 229
"The music goes round and round" 192-193
"their" music 16-17
thinking through music 10-11
tickey draai 137
Tizzard, Bob 214
township
    jazz 283, 285, 320
    jive 322
trace (concept) 22-23
    recognising 23
    reminding 22
    reminiscing 22
Tracey, Andrew 146
Tracey, Paul 146
tradition and music 23-24
traditional music 45
traditions and identity 337-338
transformation 378-379
transforming continuities 271-294
    "art" music 289-294
    choirs 275-277
    Christmas Choirs 271-275
    fusions 285-289
    Jazz 279-285
    klopse 271-275
    langarm bands 271-276
    opera 289-294
    qasidah bands 278-279
    rock 285-289
    sangkore 271-276
tsaba tsaba 137
Tsewu, Phumi 276, 336, 337, 340, 342, 345, 348, 372
Tsira, Titi 338, 376
Tulips Malay Choir 310, 335, 336, 337, *339 ill,* 340, 342
Tuxedo Slickers 214, 216
Tweede Nuwe Jaar parade 272, 273, 274

UCT *see* University of Cape Town
UCT College of Music *see* College of Music
UDF *see* United Democratic Front
United Democratic Front 240, 241-242, 246
United Musical Society 121
universities
educational policies 371-372
University of Cape Town
Choir 276
College of Music 121, 204, 205, 218, 270, 281, 293, 334
Jazz Band 310
Little Theatre 122
Opera Company 122
Opera School 293
Studio Programme 293
University of the Western Cape 240
Unyazi Electronic Music Festival 292
upliftment 341-343
urban
dance music 45
mix 216-218
music 48
UWC *see* University of the Western Cape
Uys, Pieter-Dirk 305, 319

Vally, Rashid 230
"Soweto Sun" interview 263-265
Van Heerden, Alex 247, 316, 317, 318, 339
Van Niekerk, Natty 201-202
Van Riebeek Festival 111
Vasco da Gama 53, 365
vastrap 94, 109, 137, 142, 245, 352
veldmusijk 71
velviool 77
Viva la Black 228
VOC *see* Dutch East India Company
vocal groups 111-129
Kaapse Klopse 116-118

Malay Choirs 116, 199, 201, 345, 347, 348
Qasidah bands 118-120
vocal music 32
Voëlvry 288
artists 238
movement 17, 151-156, 287, 322
Volans, Kevins 166
'*Vusi van Guguleto*' 274, 360, *361-363 ill*

Wapenaar, Timon 347
Wasserman, Herman 55
"Weasel" 189-191
Wendt, Theo 164
Werner, George 282, 335, 346
Western Cape
rock movement 289
Western Cape Street Bands 274
white(s) 65
"art" music 160-171
boeremusiek 141-144
composers 161-164
fusions 156-160
music 18, 87-88, 140-171
musicians 259-260
pop musics 144-171
rock and roll 149-156
Whole-World 63, 300, 319, 365, 381
Willie Max Big Band 216
women
music 31-33
world music 15
Wyllie, Alf 200-201
Xhosa culture 345, 348
Xulon Music Tech 282, 335, 337, 349

Young Stars 118
youth music 29-31
Youth Music Development Programme 283

Zaidel-Rudolph, Jeanne 165
Zia 156
Zinkplaat 286, 341
Zulu music 43
Zulu Nation 295, 298

For several centuries Cape Town has accommodated a great variety of musical genres which have usually been associated with specific population groups living in and around the city. Musical styles and genres produced in Cape Town have therefore been assigned an "identity" which is first and foremost social. This volume tries to question the relationship established between musical styles and genres, and social – in this case pseudo-racial – identities.

In ***Sounding the Cape***, Denis-Constant Martin recomposes and examines through the theoretical prism of creolisation the history of music in Cape Town, deploying analytical tools borrowed from the most recent studies of identity configurations. He demonstrates that musical creation in the Mother City, and in South Africa, has always been nurtured by contacts and innovations made possible by exchanges, whatever the efforts made by racist powers to separate and divide people according to their origin.

Musicians interviewed at the dawn of the 21st century confirm that mixture and blending characterise all Cape Town's musics. They also emphasise the importance of a rhythmic pattern particular to Cape Town, the *ghoema* beat, whose origins are obviously mixed. The study of music demonstrates that the history of Cape Town, and of South Africa as a whole, undeniably fostered creole societies. Yet, twenty years after the collapse of apartheid, these societies are still divided along lines that combine economic factors and "racial" categorisations.

Martin concludes that, were music given a greater importance in educational and cultural policies, it could contribute to fighting these divisions, and promote the notion of a nation that, in spite of the violence of racism and apartheid, has managed to invent a unique common culture.

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